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The American Scholar

PHI BETA KAPPA, the college honor society founded in 1776 at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and the precursor of all the Greek-letter societies in America, publishes THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR not only for members of ΦBK but for all who have general intellectual interests.

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"A new friend enriches our spirit, not so much by what he gives us of himself, as by what he causes us to discover in our own selves, something which, if we had never known him, would have lain in us undeveloped."

—Miguel de Unamuno. From the author's preface to the English translation of *The Tragic Sense of Life*

"When we think, we are obliged to set out, whether we know it not and whether we will or not, from what has been thought by others who came before us and who environ us. Thought is an inheritance.

—Miguel de Unamuno, *The Tragic Sense of Life*

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The American Scholar

Spring · 1934

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Associate professor of history, Yale University, 1929–33; now instructor of history, Phillips Academy, on the Amoni Wright Lancashire Foundation; author of articles in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and, among other books, of *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824–1848*.

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Quondam lecturer on political science, Workmen's Seminary, Jerusalem; lecturer at the New School for Social Research; now professor-elect of modern history, Smith College; author of *A History of Nationalism in the East*, *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, *Nationalism in the Soviet Union*, and *Orient and Occident*.

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Editor on *The Evening Sun*, New York, 1918–23; visiting lecturer, University of Göttingen, 1930–31; since 1928 chairman of the department of history, Princeton; author, among other books, of *Planters of Colonial Virginia* and *The First Americans*.

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Adrain professor of mathematics, Columbia University, 1904–27, and head of the department of mathematics, 1910–16; author, among other books, of *Mathematical Philosophy*.

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Quondam research chemist on rare sugars; biological chemist on research in nutrition for the United States Bureau of Dairy Industry; author of *Aren't Men Rascals?*, *Fads, Frauds, and Physicians*, *The Degradation of Science*, *The Joy of Ignorance*, and *T N T.*

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Musicologist, chiefly in early American music, in which capacity he published the first biography of Stephen Foster, a pioneer work in its field, and compiled four volumes of music by American composers of the 18th and early 19th centuries; author of many articles on church music; composer; now organist, The Riverside Church, New York City.

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GROVER CLEVELAND

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Grover Cleveland: An Ill-Appreciated Personality

ALLAN NEVINS

Professor of American History, Columbia University

YEAR by year Grover Cleveland has become better known and his true stature has been so much more fully appreciated that already he looms in our history as one of the six or seven really impressive men who have occupied the Presidency. His strength of character, his steadfast courage, and his utter integrity are understood at their full worth. And yet there is much in his public career that still remains to be completely appraised. Everyone knows how he made the most gallant fight in our national history for the reduction of an extortionate and shortsighted tariff to its proper level and how by his devotion to duty in writing his great tariff message of 1887 he actually sacrified a reelection the following year to the Presidency. We all know with what immovable determination, against the fierce assaults of the West and of a majority in his own party, he maintained what he considered the financial integrity of the nation from 1893 to 1897. Successive biographers have told how he fought against the special privilege of pension laws and how he exerted himself to protect the really poor and helpless.

But this is far from all the story. It remains to be understood how much, during his first administration, Cleveland did for administrative reform in a government that had fallen into lax and corrupt ways; how he purged and invigorated the departments at Washington and gave them an efficiency they had never before possessed. The great service he rendered in the eighties by rolling back the first tide of jingoism—the tide that finally under McKinley swept us into the Spanish War and into imperialism—has never been properly appreciated; for he slew in its infancy a dangerous movement that men

Some hitherto unpublished correspondence between Grover Cleveland and Melville W. Fuller appears on pages 245–249 of this issue.

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like Blaine had been insidiously fostering. While his defence of the Monroe Doctrine in the famous Venezuela affair of 1895 has often been described, it may be doubted that the true grandeur of his motives has ever been generally comprehended. Other American leaders vindicated the Monroe Doctrine for selfish or aggressive reasons; Cleveland vindicated it to protect a weak nation from injustice at the hands of a stronger, giving it a moral meaning that it has all too seldom possessed.

Yet it is not in his public character but his private character that he is least understood. For this there are several reasons. He first came before the general public in 1882, when he was elected governor, as a blunt, strong man, a Samson of politics, who had no unofficial life or character whatever. Little was known of his childhood or young manhood and he enlightened nobody. He was unmarried; he had few intimate friends; and he cared nothing for society. For decades it was impossible to learn much of his personal life, tastes, or qualities. Meanwhile he was assiduously libeled by his enemies, whose abuse ran the gamut from "The Beast of Buffalo" to milder epithets; and worst of all, he was misrepresented by his friends. For it was a friend who, as quoted by Harry Thurston Peck, called him "as coarse as a mutton chop." A misleading legend gradually built itself up—a legend which the admiring and brilliant Mr. Peck himself summarized when he described Cleveland as "a combination of the business man and the unimportant professional person, blunt, hard-headed, brusque, and unimaginative, and ready to take a hand in everything."

Especially is there much still to be learned of Cleveland's inner nature and his deeper qualities. Compared with certain other great political leaders—with Roosevelt or Wilson, for example—he was singularly inarticulate. He did not wear his heart on his sleeve and he manifested an unconquerable reticence upon all that touched his emotions. Speaking little about himself and writing still less, he was silent alike under abuse and under praise, in good fortune and in adversity. This Cromwellian mixture of strength and taciturnity, combined with the rugged simplicity of his tastes and demeanor, stood him in good stead in his public relations but increased the misapprehension of his character. He was regarded as a powerful but coarse-fibred man, a leader of rocklike strength but also of rocklike

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inertia, a statesman whose honesty and bravery were admirable but were not fed by any deep inner springs. The evidence for the dissipation of such a misconception and the substitution in its stead of a true picture of Cleveland must be drawn from the memories of those who knew him intimately and from the occasional letters in which he let his inmost thought and emotions find an outlet.

The truth is that Grover Cleveland, far from being a blunt-natured and unemotional man, was throughout life a man of strong feelings and delicate sensibilities. He was not gifted with a powerful imagination or marked intellectual subtlety, his range of interests was far from wide, and if he had strong emotional impulses they were kept under a steel rein. He was as direct in thought as he was straightforward in action. But the simplicity was that of a finely sensitive heart; not that of a commonplace and superficial soul. If we look beneath Cleveland's obvious traits—his courage, kindliness, sense of justice, untiring industry, dignity—we find them rooted in a personality that was both fine and deep and that gave the lie to the supposition that, apart from his extraordinary strength, he was a very limited, uninspired, ordinary person.

The trait which gave Cleveland his unique place in American history was of course his rugged and unyielding courage; the courage that, once he decided a certain path was right, led him to maintain it unflinchingly against friend and foe, never compromising an inch. Some have called this courage pure stubbornness and others have regarded it as mere belligerency. Actually it sprang from a deep and humble conscientiousness, and, especially late in life, from a markedly religious outlook. He fought vigorously because his sense of duty went to the very source of his life. The statement he made on his deathbed—"I have tried so hard to do right"—sums up his entire public service. Richard Watson Gilder, in a letter which appeared in *The New York Times* in 1888, remarked:

> The thing to me most attractive about the President is the moral atmosphere of the man, his lofty and devoted views and aims. Circumstances have made me well acquainted with not a few other public men since the war, but without intending derogation of them, I must say that the President strikes me as remarkable and well-nigh unique for a certain moral fervor in his views of public affairs. The fact is that the "preacher blood" of the President has told in him more and more as public and private responsibilities have increased.

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The moral fervor that was thus a part of his civic courage is well illustrated by Dr. Wilton M. Smith's anecdote of his visit to Cleveland at Lakewood in February 1893, just before Cleveland's second inauguration. After dinner Cleveland remarked, "Come into my den. I want to read you my inaugural speech." In reading it Cleveland had wrought himself to a high pitch of emotion. With heavy step he paced up and down the floor and then faced Dr. Smith with words which, spoken with fierce intensity, fastened themselves upon the memory,

> Doctor, I suppose at times you won't approve of many things I do, but I want you to know that I am trying to do what is right. I have a hungry party behind me, and they say I am not grateful. Sometimes the pressure is most overwhelming, and a President cannot always get at the exact truth; but I want you to know that I am trying to do what is right. *I am trying to do what is right.*

The tears stood in his eyes as he began pacing the room again and he blew his nose to hide the emotion surging in his breast.

When he said this Cleveland knew that the storm of financial panic and silverite agitation was about to burst upon his new Administration. He was aware, as he penned the last sentence of his second inaugural, that the country faced heavy trials. "I know," he wrote, "there is a Supreme Being who rules the affairs of man, and whose goodness and mercy have always followed the American people, and I know he will not turn from us if humbly and reverently we seek his powerful aid." Few periods in our history have been so beset with misfortune and trouble as that which followed. Sometimes Cleveland found his burden so grievous that he cried out under it. "These are days of special perplexity and depression," he wrote Don M. Dickinson, "and the path of public duty is unusually rugged." A little later, when the skies were darkest, we find him exclaiming in a letter to Richard Watson Gilder: "I know too there is a God, but I do not know his purposes, or when their results will appear. I know the clouds will roll away, but I do not know who, before that time, will be drowned in their floods." But his courage was always adequate. In 1894 he wrote Gilder again: "I am thinking these days I have my full share of perplexities—indeed, I am never without them—and I am thinking that they can be met in but one way, and that is by keep-

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ing the heart and conscience right and following their lead. But I must not preach."

James Russell Lowell, who knew Cleveland slightly, remarked that "With all his firmness he has a very tender and sympathetic nature, or I am much mistaken." This tenderness, which appeared in both his public and private relationships, is illustrated by a large proportion of his letters. It animated his resentment over abuses and his sympathy with the abused—for example, with the Indians. It was displayed in letters expressing his deep family affection. He never mentioned his mother except with reverence. When he was inaugurated governor he wrote his brother an extraordinary message, speaking of her constant prayers for his success, and saying that now that she was gone he wished William, a minister, to help him in the same way. A similar emotion came to the surface in his frequent references to his married life. "My wife sits by me," he confided to Bissell, his best friend, in 1888. "I tell you, Bissell, I am sure of one thing. I have in her something better than the Presidency for life." Even more fervently he poured out to Bissell his feelings over his first baby, saying he had "just entered the real world"; that he saw "in a small child more of value than I have ever called my own before"; in short, he was transported. And his affection for other children was always marked.

Like all men who have to fight the world he had to be harsh at times; but he nevertheless maintained an unusual vein of sentiment, both deep and fine, repeatedly evidenced in his references to his public duties. "It seems to me," he wrote when new to the Presidency, "I am as much consecrated to a service as the religionist who secludes himself to a sacred mission." He showed a keen sensibility to the meaning of death. Few men had done more for his early rise than E. K. Apgar, who died at an untimely age. Soon afterward Cleveland wrote that he found it hard to believe Apgar dead, "but sometimes it comes upon me with dreadful distinctness"—a telling phrase. He was capable of the warmest kind of affection for the few men he really cared to call friends. They were all but brothers to him. Unquestionably he meant it when he wrote Bissell in 1884 that if he had the world he would give his old partner half of it at least. More than once in these letters he speaks wistfully of the Buffalo years as "days of simple, honest, hearty friendship." He was cut to the heart in 1885 by evidence that

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some of his associates of those Buffalo days thought him cold and selfish simply because he later refused them offices, and he eloquently expressed his hurt to Bissell and Lockwood. In both his Administrations his Cabinets became true families, bound closely together by ties of affection and loyalty, with none feeling those ties more strongly than he. While difficulties thickened in his second term he was genuinely grieved that he had dragged so many good men into a sea of trouble and vituperation, and we find him writing Bayard, with a burst of gratitude:

> You don't know what a comfort Gresham is to me, with his hard sense, his patriotism and loyalty. It is but little for me to say that I would trust my life or honor in his keeping at all times. I have some other good men about me, and I am constantly thinking that enmity and evil and misfortune must overcome eight more good true ones before my discomfiture can be accomplished.

It is easy in his writings to pick out many expressions of irritation, scorn, or condemnation. To Cleveland politics was often a hair-shirt and he squirmed under what he called "influences not always akin to the best sensibilities." Always he was ready to give battle for a principle—"I am not anxious to be beaten and cuffed about too much"—and after a buffet or two he would give back blow for blow. But it is extraordinary to note in his collection how much there was also of a large, easy tolerance, a compound of willingness to let other people differ from him so long as they differed honestly and of a patient faith that while God often moves slowly and mysteriously, in the end the right triumphs. His tolerance in religious matters he illustrated by a favorite story of the "hard-shell" Baptist whom certain Presbyterians tried to cajole into their church: "No, you folks are Presbyterians, and if I should go over to your church I couldn't enjoy my mind." Wishing to enjoy his own mind he was ready to let others enjoy theirs. In matters political the indulgent tolerance crops out in a letter written early in his governorship: "I sometimes think the people of this State act like 'a passel of boys.' " There is no trace of intolerance in the plaintive letter which he wrote Bayard in 1895 when every one seemed to have deserted him: "You may be surprised to learn that in all the darkness I have never lost the feeling that the American people and I have a perfectly fair understanding."

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This tolerance was largely nourished by a fundamental good humor strewn all through his letters, as it is through all accounts of his relations with friends. He dearly loved all fun except practical jokes, which struck him as undignified or painful; and to the end of his life he retained that boyish quality which gleams from his eye in the Zorn portrait. Many of his sayings cannot be interpreted without this twinkle in the eye—for example, his remark to the reporter who was trying to worm out of him a statement on a question of foreign policy—"That, sir, is a matter of too great importance to discuss in a five-minute interview, now rapidly drawing to its close." In the letters of his earliest years we encounter a gay persiflage. He indulged in self-depreciatory fun—"my homely, burly face"; in observations on the social customs of Buffalo—"the last thing of the old year, when Methodists dolefuly sing its requiem and the Dutchmen fire their guns."

Tolerance and humor both depend, in their separate ways, upon a sense of proportion, and it is clear from a hundred utterances that Cleveland had this sense developed in a fashion extremely valuable to the head of a state. In his second Administration some men, like Watterson, complained that he showed touches of arrogance and conceit. But we can see from his private communications how completely erroneous was this impression, that he never thought highly of his own abilities—at least that he never exaggerated them. As governor he wrote frankly to a friend that he did not believe he had the material to do more for the people than he could in that office—that he did not, that is, have in him the material to make a President. A little earlier he had not even been sure he had the qualifications for a successful governor. "The question is whether I know enough to accomplish what I desire," he confided to his brother. In the Presidency he gradually developed a conviction that he had been called there to do a special work. The hand of Providence, he felt, had selected him as a humble instrument. "God," he wrote Gilder after the surgical operation in 1893, "had put the belief in my mind that I can still be of use to my country." In his letters to old Cabinet associates after both the first and the second Administrations there shone a touching pride in their joint achievements. But it is the pride of a man who was singularly lacking in self-complacency and who was pleased merely that what talents he possessed had not been laid away

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in a napkin. "If I only knew as much as Abrams Hewitt I might amount to something," he once remarked to Gilder, and he meant every word of it.

As President, Cleveland displayed a remarkable sense of personal responsibility for the administration of justice. He once sent for a friend at midnight on a matter of business. When the friend was leaving he said to the President, "I hope you are going to bed at once. You must be very tired." "I am tired," replied Cleveland, "but I shall hardly get to bed before half-past-two. I must go through some papers here"—pointing to a mass. "A man is to be hanged and there is an application for his pardon." "What do you keep an Attorney-General for?" demanded the friend. "The Attorney-General has gone over the case carefully," replied Cleveland. "He thinks the man ought to hang." "Well, why not?" said the friend. "No," said Cleveland, "that will not do. This poor man has a wife and children who plead to me for his life. I must look into this matter myself. I cannot take anybody's word or judgment in a matter like this. Suppose he was hanged and that hereafter some neglected or overlooked or improperly weighed evidence should turn up to show that he ought not to have been hanged. What reproaches would not these people have a right to make me? This is a matter I must go to the bottom of myself if it takes all night."

The corollary of the moral sensitiveness deep in Cleveland's nature, his insistent emphasis upon the ethical aspect of all questions, was a capacity for intense anger when other men fell short of their duty. William L. Wilson in his unpublished diary tells of Cleveland's resentment when Senator Gorman insisted upon certain appointments which Cleveland knew to be unfit. The President mentioned the matter in Cabinet meeting. "He let out a few good hearty damns," wrote Wilson. "He is always an interesting man, but he is never more so than when he is angry." In Cleveland's unpublished correspondence there are evidences of the passionate indignation which frequently sprang from his profound conscientiousness in every relation, public or private. In 1884 the campaign of scandal waged against him by some elements in the Republican party cut him to the heart. This assault originated in Buffalo, where one of its leaders was a mendacious minister named Ball. When the election was over Cleveland wrote Bissell:

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As I look over the field I see some people lying dead whose demise will not harm the country, some whose wounds will perhaps teach them that honesty and decency are worth preserving, and some whose valor, fidelity, and staunch devotion are rewarded with victory and who have grappled themselves to me with hooks of steel. In this last array stand my true Buffalo friends. I am busy all day long receiving congratulations of friends in person. while through the mail and by telegraph they are counted by the thousand. It is quite amusing to see how profuse are the professions of some who stood aloof when most needed. I intend to cultivate the Christian duty of charity toward all men except the dirty class who defiled themselves with filthy scandal and Ballism. I don't believe God will ever forgive them, and I am determined not to do so.

He never did forgive them. A month after the election, when he made a hasty trip to Buffalo to wind up his business affairs, he wrote Bissell again, expressing the hope that the dirty scum of the city would keep out of his way.

Cleveland, in his sensitiveness toward public obligations, never quarreled with men merely because they disagreed with him but grew angry with them only when they violated what he regarded as a vital principle of honor. His anger then often had crushing force. "Do you call yourself a Democrat?" he roared in 1886 at a Congressman who had voted against the Morrison bill for tariff reduction. His letter denouncing the men who refused to support the Wilson tariff bill in 1894 as guilty of "party perfidy and party dishonor" was founded on the same sense of treachery to a solemn pledge. The anger in some of his communications to men he had detected in a base action has the cleansing effect of fire. Nothing better illustrates this than the letter written on August 1, 1885 to a man named Bush who had confessed to recommending an aspirant for public office when he knew the man to be quite unfit:

I have read your letter of the 24th with amazement and indignation. There is but one mitigation to the perfidy which your letter discloses and that is found in the fact that you confess your share in it. I don't know whether you are a Democrat or not; but if you are, the crime which you confess is the more unpardonable. The idea that this Administration, pledged to give the people better government and better officers, and engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with the base elements of both parties, should be betrayed by those who ought to be worthy of implicit trust, is atrocious; and such treason to the people and the party ought to be punished by imprisonment.

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Your confession comes too late to be of immediate use to the public service; and I can only say that while this is not the first time I have been deceived and tricked by lying and treacherous representations, you are the first that has so frankly owned his grievous fault. If any comfort is to be extracted from this assurance you are welcome to it.

Sometimes in his anger he hit with a direct shoulder blow. Nothing is more characteristic than his famous telegram to Hearst when the latter requested him to serve on a committee to erect a monument to the sailors of the *Maine:* "I decline to allow my sorrow for those who died on the *Maine* to be perverted into an advertising scheme for *The New York Journal.*" Sometimes he could be sarcastic. In mingled sorrow and indignation he wrote to Olney in 1899, when the war against Aguinaldo was raging:

The round-up and slaughter of the Filipinos seem to go merrily on. Of course it has little of glorious war about it, but perhaps it's good practice for our army—though they must have grown quite skilful in hitting on the run, since I see one of our soldiers writes that the difference between shooting at Filipinos and jackrabbits consists in the fact that some jackrabbits escaped but no Filipinos. All the same, anybody who says this is not a Christian nation or that our President is not the very pink of perfection of a Christian is a liar and an un-American knave.

The public saw in Cleveland the dour, silent man, bearing his burdens with apparent indifference to the public voice. But to the tragedian, Lawrence Barrett, he remarked in 1886:

I have made mistakes; I see them, many of them, and could kick myself when I think about them; I am only human and am as liable to err as any other man. All I hear is bickering and strife and fault-finding among scheming politicians. But for the occasional wave of popular endorsement that breaks its way over the reef of office-seekers and politicians that hedges me about and comes to me like a season of refreshing I should break down, heart-sick and discouraged.

Dr. Bryant wrote of Cleveland in an unpublished memorandum:

His nearest friends have seen him deeply touched at the christening of his children, in the services of the church, and in many a home experience where the growing sweetness of his character was ever leaping to new expression. Few men have ripened more in spiritual apprehension and real beauty of character than this man did.

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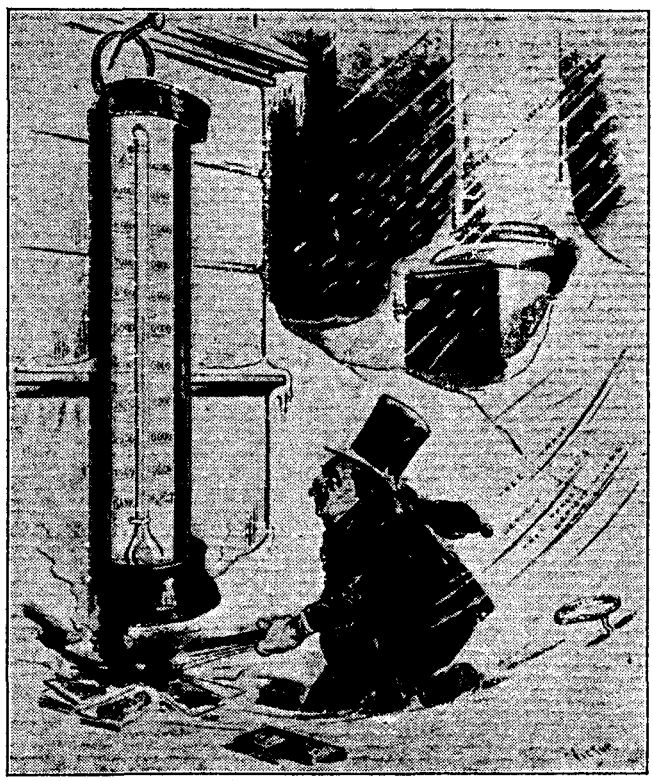
This was the side of Cleveland's character most likely to be overlooked. The world is familiar with him as an aggressive fighter, as an adherent of principle, as a statesman who applied blunt common sense to every situation and who, when once satisfied he was right, could not be shaken by friend or foe, by party or public clamor. Yet the one quality that made him great, his unyielding moral courage, could never have existed as it did but for his fine conscientiousness, his warm sensibility, and his innate religious feeling. These were the hidden springs which fed his hard fighting power.



From a cartoon *Will it Rise?*, *by* Victor in *Judge*, March 7, 1896

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Grover Cleveland and National Finances

ARTHUR B. DARLING
Instructor of History, Phillips Academy

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S efforts to speed the recovery of the nation recall a preceding Democratic administration of national affairs. But Grover Cleveland held doggedly to the policy of paying out gold upon request. He had no thought of impounding the Treasury's gold, of putting pressure upon borrowers, of placing an embargo on the export of gold, of suspending, by exercise of sovereignty, contractual obligations for payments in gold, or of cutting the gold content of the dollar. He was determined to keep the Government out of the nation's business. He disliked depositing the Treasury's surplus in the banks, since that meant a commingling of public funds with private enterprise, and because it meant taxation of the people he endeavored to diminish the Government's participation by protective tariffs in the indirect subsidization of industry.

When Grover Cleveland first took office the country had passed through a sharp panic, but recovery from the experiences of 1884 was so rapid that he faced, not the problem of raising the nation out of depression but the far more difficult task of holding its pursuit of prosperity within reasonable expectations. It is no severe indictment of him to say that he did not have the understanding for the solution of this problem. His experience had been obtained in the practical politics of an Eastern city and state, communities already grown mature, inviting the solid purpose of a man determined to correct abuses, to give honest and efficient government. And from such endeavor he had advanced to responsibility for the welfare of the whole country, for the West as well as the East, for the newer section, so large a part of which was still callow, eager—no doubt too eager—to raise itself into a mature and balanced economic life.

President Cleveland did not understand the agrarian movement which accompanied the rapid industrialization of this country after

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the Civil War. Greenbackers, Grangers, Silver Men, Populists, however, sensed the meaning of the persistent decline of commodity prices to lower and lower levels and they were not entirely self-seeking in their demand for expansion of the national currency. There was a genuine need for abundant money to finance the growing country. More properly perhaps this should be termed a need of capital but these Westerners were looking to their Government for assistance, whether called money or capital. They had striven for legislation to that end; they had stopped further withdrawal of greenbacks from circulation in 1868; and had kept the contractionists from eliminating the remainder of greenbacks after the panic of 1873. And, as silver mining increased in the intermountain region, the agrarians had secured the Bland-Allison silver act of 1878 for the purpose of steadily enlarging the supply of a coin which had been money through the ages.

To these Americans in the West the fact that other nations were abandoning silver currency for gold offered no obstacle to an expansion of the currency of their own country upon the bimetallic basis. This European move, they declared, was a conspiracy among the gold-owning nations, the creditors of the world, to increase the price of gold at the expense of debtor nations, particularly the United States, a growing country using borrowed capital to supplement its physical strength and its will to turn empty geographic regions into populous areas of civilization. Foreign capitalists must not be allowed to interfere with their efforts. Failure to expand the currency meant to them contraction and that was oppression, for dearer money would cause still lower prices for their products at a time when they needed every cent of profit to meet their obligations and to invest in additional equipment. What mattered it if they did overreach themselves somewhat at the start? Time and their own determination would overcome initial obstacles. Their creditors should have faith in them; mortgages were made to be renewed; and, as evidence of that faith, rates of interest should be reduced. The aim of these Americans was fixed in the seal of the State of Kansas: *Ad Astra Per Aspera.* But the adversities which they accepted were only those of nature, not those made by man.

To Grover Cleveland there was no conspiracy whatever among the money-lenders of this country or abroad to grind Western farm-

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ers in the mills of gold. It may be that he lacked the imagination necessary to appreciate the inner truth of their contention. What, however, he might have done if he had caught the gleam of that truth is futile speculation. His thoughts were absorbed in the particular difficulties of the Treasury as silver coin accumulated there and increasing imports brought greater revenues to enlarge a surplus that threatened seriously to curtail the amount of money in circulation. Then in his second administration the desperate situation of the Treasury's gold reserve following the panic of 1893 completely engrossed his thinking about money.

Even before taking office Cleveland had listened to conservative advices and had publicly opposed the compulsory coinage of silver into dollars. His first annual message to Congress declared that the Government would have all of its gold displaced by silver if this coinage continued; that private hoarding of gold had already begun; that the attempt to establish the bimetallic standard by international agreement had failed. He recognized the need of facilities for increasing the volume of currency but he preferred national-bank notes for that purpose. The ceaseless stream of silver coinage threatened to overflow the land; the Bland-Allison law should be repealed. With this message Cleveland took the position which he was to defend grimly throughout his career. He admitted within his defenses the interests of creditors, business men, and wage-earners, but he had no room there really for the interests of the farmers and the producers of raw materials in the West who were contributing so much to the development of the country in his own time. They were expected perhaps to work out their salvation with their individualistic inheritance from the first pioneers. Instead, they took collective action that Cleveland never comprehended. After such an expression of conviction the President might have been expected to set out aggressively to his objective. But Cleveland dropped the leadership which he had just assumed, deferred to Congress, and put himself suddenly on the defensive. By means of certificates of small denominations his Secretary of the Treasury did find a way of getting more silver into circulation. But aside from that the Administration made no constructive moves. An obstreperous Congress, dominated by Westerners and Southerners, debated a free-coinage bill, demanded an explanation of the Treasury's dealings with banks in New York,

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and in other ways discomfited the Administration. In the end, to be sure, the President suffered little from these annoyances but he had wasted a good opportunity to force his views beyond Congress into the minds of the people.

Taking into account what was happening throughout the country in these booming years prior to the crash of 1893 one can readily appreciate how valuable might have been a vigorous and constant exposition before the public of the dangers in undue expansion. Overexertion leads inevitably to exhaustion, even if but momentary. There was great danger in discounting the future with so much enthusiasm and daring. Even those commitments made with the best of intentions and with fair expectations might be impossible to meet at their date of maturity. And a very great part of these commitments in the eighties was made to English capitalists. If these foreign holders of American securities, farm mortgages, railroad stocks, municipal bonds, and other evidences of debt were to become alarmed at conditions in this country or subjected to stress by a bad turn of affairs in their own, a marked withdrawal of funds from American enterprises would certainly occur, to the serious injury if not complete destruction of these enterprises. Rather than point this out to his countrymen and devise ways for the Government to meet the situation if it should occur, President Cleveland concentrated upon the problem of the rising surplus in the Treasury and upon the tariff which, in his opinion, lay at the root of many another political disease.

The Treasury paid off the Government's bonds subject to call but the surplus continued to accumulate. Then Treasury funds were deposited in selected banks. This expedient got much of the surplus into commercial use but it was expensive for the banks and Cleveland did not like the policy for it fostered, he declared, "an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds." He preferred to have the Treasury buy the unmatured bonds of the United States in the open market, even if that practise forced those bonds to an expensive premium. But such purchases drew the bonds from under the note-issues of the national banks, curtailing their circulation, and gave premiums to wealthy bondholders at a time when Western communities were dependent to a great degree upon foreign capital. Cleveland's conviction, however, that public funds should be divorced from private

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affairs repelled any thought that the Government might solve the problem of the surplus by sending it, for the purpose of replacing foreign investments, directly into communities financed by foreign investments. The President's real desire was to reduce the surplus by cutting down the revenue obtained from taxation. Excessive revenues, he said, invited "schemes of public plunder." Of these excessive revenues after 1886, fully 60 per cent came from the customs duties. The tradition of the Democratic party, moreover, was to seek lower tariffs. Grover Cleveland took the issue of the surplus and the tariff to the polls in 1888—and lost.

The succeeding Republican administration continued Cleveland's policy of dispersing the surplus by the purchase of bonds but reversed his policies with respect to the tariff, silver coinage, and economical government. Appropriations for public works, pensions, and other expenditures brought the Treasury to the verge of exhaustion. Far from having an uncomfortable surplus, it was so bound to future obligations that it could not have relieved the money markets of the country in case of need—even if the Government had wished to do so. And the need appeared almost immediately. For the English banking-house of Baring Brothers was faced with imminent failure in 1890 on account of heavy losses in Argentina and was saved only by the aid of the British Government. Many English investors, as a consequence, were forced to liquidate their American securities. Large failures resulted in the United States as gold poured out and credit became stringent. But by the sudden bounty of nature, an extraordinary wheat crop in 1891 that was sold at good prices in the world market because of a European shortage, the country was rescued from a major panic and to the relief of the Treasury and credits in New York, gold flowed back into the United States.

The Republican silver act of 1890 put the Treasury under the strain of redeemable note-issues for continuous purchases of bullion. Under this act the Treasury was required to expand rigidly the obligations of the United States subject to redemption in coin at the will of the note-holders. And, although the act seemed to give the Secretary discretion in the use of either gold or silver coin for redemption, it stated that gold and silver were to be kept at a parity according to the existing legal ratio. As a matter of fact, therefore, the Secretary had little discretion, for he had virtually to meet the request of the

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note-holder, whether for silver or for gold. Such a measure would need fair financial weather for proper trial. But the new Republican tariff made any estimate of probable revenues uncertain and, as Grover Cleveland took office for the second time, the speculative boom of the past seven years collapsed in the crash of 1893.

The President-elect watched anxiously while Harrison's administration staggered through January and February to its end. Cleveland knew that the gold which the New York banks had turned over to the Treasury in exchange for legal tender notes would hardly keep the gold reserve above the minimum until March 4. When he inquired in New York as to the possibility of selling bonds abroad in order to secure gold he was told that leading financiers expected soon a reversal of conditions in foreign trade which would bring gold back again into the United States. But the financiers had little foresight, for instead gold continued to flow out of the country, while a very considerable amount disappeared into private hoards in the country. By April it had become so scarce that the Treasury was hard pressed to redeem legal tenders with gold and the rumor spread that Secretary Carlisle would issue only silver coin in redeeming the notes of 1890. He tried on the 20th to check this suspicion by stating that the Government would continue to pay gold as long as it had gold lawfully available for that purpose, but his qualification only increased uncertainty. If the Secretary wavered, however, the President did not. On the 23d Cleveland declared to the press that the policy of maintaining parity between the two metals dictated the redemption of legal tender with gold.

Reassured by the optimism of Wall Street, perhaps, President Cleveland chose, not to investigate the multiple causes for the drain of gold that had persisted since 1891 in spite of some importation, but to attack the silver purchase law as the raider of the Treasury and the destroyer of public confidence. His case against the law as a measure favoring one sectional interest at the expense of the whole people, however, was weakened by the fact that he was playing the hand of another sectional interest, that of creditors, bankers, and business men who feared the effect of silver money upon their investments. He seemed to be more concerned with their possessions, their peace of mind, with maintaining their confidence in the stability of public credit than with the hopes and aspirations of those who were strug-

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gling to establish themselves in the newer areas of the country. And as a matter of fact there were already in circulation sufficient greenbacks to withdraw the gold reserve from the Treasury without the aid of the notes of 1890.

In the midst of a most trying personal experience with an operation for cancer, successfully kept from the public, President Cleveland summoned Congress to repeal the silver law and urged that other legislation might place beyond doubt "the intention and the ability of the Government to fulfill its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognized by all civilized countries." But he did not take the lead and make specific suggestions as to what that legislation should be. There was no proposal of an act authorizing the Government to search out and to check domestic hoarding of gold as a matter of public policy for the benefit of the Treasury. There was no request for power to regulate the flow of gold abroad. Grover Cleveland's forte was to hammer at apparent evils until he had eliminated them rather than to pentrate into dangerous trends, to anticipate their consequences, and to construct new measures for arresting their progress.

The President was mistaken in his statement that the financial plight of the country was "not the result of untoward events nor of conditions related to our natural resources" or "traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check national growth and prosperity." Certainly the movement of gold in and out of the country was traceable in considerable part to the amounts of wheat and corn produced here and to the demand or lack of market for them abroad. Foreign capital, furthermore, was disturbed not only by the agitation for silver money but also by the disclosure of mismanagement and rash promotion of American railroads. There was a temporary import of gold in August 1893, attracted by the very profitable discounts on certified checks paid in New York for gold or any kind of currency in order to obtain cash; but after that the export of gold was resumed and continued for many months, thanks to the failure of the corn crop, the weakness of the foreign demand for wheat, and especially to the withdrawal of European capital from American investment. While Congress quarreled over the repeal of the silver law on into the fall of 1893, revenues from customs duties so declined that the Treasury had to use gold for current expenses, even dipping into the $100,000,000 of gold guarded by the statute of 1882 and reserved by long

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practise for the redemption of greenbacks. The fact was that, whether or not Cleveland obtained the repeal of the silver law, the Government could not in those dark days following the panic of 1893 maintain the gold standard without expenditure for that purpose. The Administration had either to buy gold or to stop payments upon the regular appropriations authorized by Congress. And the latter course would seem to have been utterly impossible. It would have brought the Government itself practically to a standstill.

The President and his Secretary of the Treasury should have put the question squarely before the American people: was their Treasury to have enough gold, the only medium of international exchange, to meet their national obligations? Their suspicions, doubts, and fears might have been reduced to the cold, hard truth that the entire country was in the grip of distressing international conditions from which they could best extricate themselves in time if they acted as a whole people regardless of class, area, occupation, or degree of wealth. But instead of making known the fact that the Treasury was forced to draw upon the gold reserve to meet current expenses, instead of exhorting the public to rescue the Treasury from the danger of bankruptcy by purchasing its bonds with gold, Cleveland and Carlisle temporized until they could obtain the repeal of the silver-purchase law and start the movement for revision of the tariff to which the Administration was pledged by the election of 1892. Perhaps they read the temporary influx of gold in August to mean that the depression of 1893 was going to be as short-lived as that of 1884. Cleveland's message to Congress in December, 1893, merely stated the deficit of the Treasury, noted the amount of gold and silver bullion in the Treasury, surveyed the wreckage of the national banks, expressed confidence that the repeal of the silver law would have salutary results, remarked that a safe path to a permanently sound currency would be found when confidence was restored, and urged Congress to amend the existing statutes in regard to the issuance of bonds.

Secretary Carlisle was impeded by the requirements in the act of 1875 which designated the kinds of bonds issuable for coin to redeem the greenbacks, but he was more hampered by his own misgiving as to whether he had legal power to issue bonds without consulting Congress. Congress, disorganized and embittered by the struggle over the silver law, swayed by the feeling of many that the distress of the

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Treasury afforded an excellent chance to establish the silver standard, ignored the importunities of the Secretary. Meanwhile the gold reserve shrank so alarmingly that something had to be done. At last in January 1894 Cleveland and Carlisle took up the plan for a bond-issue which Harrison's administration had been considering in the previous February. Had Carlisle, however, been less deferential to a Congress which had already defied the Administration to the last possible moment he could have found long since in Section 3700 of the Revised Statutes of 1878 ample justification for going ahead in an emergency without that Congress. He needed no further authorization to issue bonds for maintaining the gold reserve. Had he promoted the bond-sale of 1894 as a matter of vital concern to the nation —as Jay Cooke had sold the Government's bonds during the Civil War—he might have had some success with the sale to the public which he desired. But it lagged and threatened to fail. He was forced to call upon the bankers of Wall Street. They responded patriotically and, it is said, lost money on the transaction. The Treasury, however, had replenished its gold reserve for a while.

Grover Cleveland now was optimistic. He had gold in the Treasury and a limit upon its obligation to redeem silver notes with gold. But he did not appreciate the full significance of the decline of revenues or of the export of gold. Europe was still liquidating American holdings and gold would continue to leave the country until that liquidation ceased or Europe found itself greatly in need of American products, such as wheat. A single bond-issue was but a temporary check. By November 1894 the gold reserve was again sinking rapidly. Another bond-issue restored it momentarily, but a large part of the gold paid into the Treasury for these bonds had been drawn from the Treasury itself through the redemption of legal-tender notes and by January 1895 a third bond-issue was imperative. In a politic message Cleveland once more appealed to Congress for cooperation. He must have known, however, that the appeal was useless. He should have spared himself the effort and given the time to a direct appeal to the people. There were few business men and financiers who did not already understand the precarious condition of the Treasury but the people as a whole needed to know the truth and to be roused to concerted action for there were large resources of national loyalty and pride yet to be tapped.

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Rebuffed by Congress, Cleveland and Carlisle turned finally, much against their will, to accept the aid of a private banking syndicate that for some time had been ready to offer its services—for a price. The condition of the Treasury was actually such that the last dollar's worth of gold in the New York sub-treasury was about to depart. By means of its connections with foreign financial houses the Morgan-Belmont syndicate could accomplish at that particular moment what the United States Government with all its sovereignty could not—the protection of the Treasury against foreign withdrawals of gold. The Morgan loan enabled the Administration to make gold payments for another period of months. The public credit was saved. But, however effective in the immediate crisis, the arrangement did not solve the problem of the Treasury. By July 1895 the syndicate had lost control of the market in foreign exchange. With gold flowing out as before the Treasury had to resort to a fourth bond-issue in January 1896. This time Secretary Carlisle found courage to increase the public debt by $100,000,000—twice the amount of the previous public issues. And even though legal tenders again drew gold from the Treasury for payments to the Treasury for new bonds, the results were heartening. The two earlier issues to the public had been placed only after urgent appeal to the banks. The Morgan loan was a hard bargain. But this fourth issue brought response from over 4000 bidders for more than $560,000,000. Domestic conditions, to be sure, had improved; the experiences of August 1893 were receding into memories; public confidence was returning in spite of the continued flow of gold from the country. But also, realization of the Treasury's dire need had spread—good evidence that President Cleveland and Secretary Carlisle should have made the predicament of the Treasury clear to the people in the fall of 1893. That such publicity could have made the situation worse does not seem possible. The chances were, rather, that the truth would have hastened relief of the Treasury, subdued the clamor of many a sectional Congressman, and steeled the public as a whole to greater endurance until international conditions could improve.

Those conditions were suddenly transformed in 1897. European production of wheat fell short approximately a third whereas the United States had a huge crop. Western farmers found an excellent market for their product and gold to the amount of $120,000,000

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poured into this country from abroad. Once again the bounty and caprice of nature had served the American people. And while William McKinley held the Presidency in place of Grover Cleveland, new discoveries in Africa and the development of the cyanide process for reducing lower-grade ores greatly increased the world's stock of gold. Consequently the underlying factors of the monetary problem over which Cleveland had contended with the agrarians in Congress from the West had been changed. The price-level of commodities entered upon a general rise that gave great encouragement to debtors. The inflationists had lost their best argument for the bimetallic standard. There now was an abundant supply of money—in the form of gold.

Grover Cleveland retired to private life with the personal satisfaction that, even if he had failed to maintain the gold standard without incurring debts at the expense of the taxpayers, he had yielded not an inch to the forces endeavoring to depreciate the American dollar in order to meet other conditions, and he soon observed the gold standard act of 1900, as a product of his efforts and experience, set apart the gold reserve in a distinct fund, fix its minimum at $150,000,000, forbid its use to meet deficits in revenues, require public loans for its maintenance, and provide that notes redeemed by it were to remain in the Treasury until reissued for gold. Although enthusiasts for the bimetallic theory might still declare that no invidious comparison would be made if the Government freely used silver at a stipulated par with gold, to him human nature was unchangeable; the choice of dearer or cheaper money would drive the dearer money into hiding despite the fiat of the Government. In his own words the line of battle was "drawn between the forces of safe currency and those of silver monometallism." On that front Grover Cleveland fought to the end, giving no quarter. There remained, nevertheless, fair question whether it had been adequately conceived and executed to meet the real issue of his time—whether it was the proper financial course for the Government of a debtor nation rapidly expanding into new areas, rising from one temporary depression to rush headlong into another.

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Individualism in the Future

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER
Lecturer in Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College

INDIVIDUALISM, like other past and present values, has been appraised by the economic measuring rod. Its elevation into a philosophy has come from the part it has played in the progress of the last century, but the dilemmas into which it is now falling make the acclaim of "rugged individualism" fall like a joke on the ears of reality.

From now on, whether under capitalism, communism, or socialism, economic regimentation promises to increase by leaps and bounds. Even when we thought the old order still prevailed, commerce and production had for a long time been crowding out the little businesses and making into hired employees, subject to the dictates of authority both private and governmental, those who a short time ago were independent owners. Except for the mental attitude, the status of most individuals under capitalism or communism differs but slightly. In either case, except for the rare few who dwindle in numbers day by day, one must work under orders or starve. Henry Ford conducts his own business but General Motors is run entirely by hired men.

This radical change from personal control to subservience has come from two dynamic facts, the first being the very initiative of individualism, which in its efforts to exploit the resources of nature has developed technology, both in production and finance, to such a degree that the whole nature of economic life has been revolutionized. The second fact is derived from the first. We have passed beyond the point at which there were not enough elemental goods to go around to a state in which it is at least theoretically possible for everyone to be assured the necessities of life. In other words, we have passed from a condition of deficit to one of surplus.

These have been great achievements but the time has now come when the individualism that accomplished them must either subside or find new forms of expression. The great by-product of the past

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era was the stimulation, beyond even the wildest dreams, of the demand for freedom. Under the condition of deficit men fought for freedom to accumulate material goods, and the fight offered the joy of both adventure and accomplishment. But when economic security can be assured, freedom to seek it becomes empty.

It is no longer a question, however, whether we wish the old form or not, for that is as completely relegated as the brick oven and the oxcart. Whatever be the name given to it, socialization is bearing in upon us, making the problem of the future that of *living* and not of getting a living. The age-long struggle to survive has so cluttered our minds and our emotions that we still interpret the future by a dead past and even beat our heads against the wall of the actual rather than turn our eyes and our hearts forward and upward. Yet when we do so look the prospect is very alluring. No one, of course, should fall into the attitudes of Pollyanna; neither should he despair, for the fulfilment of individualism is the solving of problems and of these there will be enough to last until the millennium.

When in the not distant future the elemental necessities and comforts become as available as water is now, everyone will be forced to contribute his share of cooperation and may secure considerable individual satisfaction in making distinctive contributions, but the main field will be in the leisure time given for life itself. How this outlet will be found is suggested both by history and contemporary cultures.

Under a condition of scarcity the masses have not had freedom while the few have accumulated surpluses. Many of the few were demoralized by the power that wealth gave them, but after all it was this small group that fostered the art and philosophy which now enrich life; and it is the recognition of this fact which makes many idealistic capitalists defend the privilege of exploitation on the ground that only by extravagant surpluses in the hands of a few can education and art be promoted. When the disproportionate possessions of the rich have been leveled we shall have to secure, through popular support, many things previously given by the few or go without them. But the indications are that the luxuries of the spirit will be increased. Only last summer New York demonstrated that popular opera is successful while patronized exclusive opera has had a struggle.

Asia with its crowded populations and almost universal poverty

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points out some of the possibilities. It has been over-populated because it could not produce food enough for its people, whereas the Western world has too many people to produce, and too few to consume what is produced. Both conditions bring the same kind of suppression of economic individualism. In China personal survival has depended on conformity to economic and ethical codes, to the dictates of the family, community, and religion. The continuance of China amid the rise and fall of other cultures was made possible because in spite of the restraints that have surrounded them philosophy, ethics, and art gave a preeminent contentment to the people. The Chinese can live a fuller life in poverty than anyone else has succeeded in doing. Without formal religion they have had a spiritual freedom not attained by others. The technique of living together they have raised to a fine art. The struggle to secure this technique will offer the rest of the world a field for individualism for a long time. India is even more poverty-stricken than China but its people have given their attention to religion and have found rich and varied self-expression. There is a whole pantheon in the Hindu religion; side by side with it are the Buddhists, Parsees, Jains, and Moslems. A follower of any religion may be rich or utterly reject the world. No captain of industry can compare his individualism with that of Gandhi, of Tagore, or of countless other holy men of India.

The peculiar individualism that we cherish is a direct but evolved inheritance from European ancestors with whom hunting and war were major occupations. Western individualism was thus born of savage techniques and its claws have not been clipped by the domestication of civilization. Its course has not been guided by codes or philosophy but by success, while its expansion has been the product of inextricably mingled war and commerce. The doctrine of *laissez faire*, which could not have received acceptance in any other culture, now sits in the ashes of despair, dismayed by its success, and looks about for some way to turn.

It sees only Russia—Russia a combination of the East and the West and the *bête noire* of all those who fear the loss of freedom. But even there we have many indications of a richer individualism for the future. We must remember that there, as in Asia, whatever has been secured has come where economic deficit still prevails, and where the revolution is not yet fully established. Under the constraints

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of Communism, insisting as it does on uniformity in economic life, we find an outburst of freedom in art and morals that is already having a far-flung influence. No one dreamed that a proletarian dictatorship would patronize the arts, but in Russia there is a freedom and originality in the arts that is both intensive and extensive. Not only are art schools and promising students subsidized but labor unions and peasants create and present original drama. The newest things in architecture, painting, and music give a hitherto unknown scope for individual activity.

More important but more devastating to outsiders has been the experimentation in morals. It is unthinkable that a communist program should lessen the sense of social responsibility which is the stuff out of which morals are made, but it can recognize that emphases had been so stereotyped that the interrelation of ethics with religion, politics, economics, and custom left little genuine moral freedom for the individual. The Soviets have sought to strip conscience free from everything that does not belong to their revolutionary program. The many holdovers are inevitable. In the early days of Puritan America we had the most perfect example of economic individualism that the world has ever seen and at the same time the most meticulous control over personal conduct. In Russia we now have the reverse. Granting that there will be tendencies to demoralization, we must admit that to be a free moral agent is a higher form of dignity and freedom than to be free to possess the earth. There is no danger that the family will disappear, though it is in regard to this institution that the greatest consternation has been aroused as concerns Russia. She has at least repudiated the hypocrisy that has surrounded the family, and leaves the individual free to experiment outside the limits of his responsibility to the state. Russia has frankly turned organized religion out of the door of social sanction because of its previous unholy alliance with an autocratic state. While there may be an exaggerated zeal in her attempt to exterminate religion it is never possible to destroy the struggle of the individual to solve the great problems of existence. When the board has been swept clean of the clutter of ecclesiasticism and theology we may be sure that something fresh and interesting will grow up in Russia.

At this moment when freedom to exploit the material world is becoming more limited for the individual, mankind is showing a new

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eagerness to make itself more human. Education has increased in popularity. The social emancipation of women is very recent and not yet complete but already in a single generation we have many women conspicuous for their adventure and accomplishments. Women's clubs, covering the field from card playing to poetry, from village improvement to international peace, exist everywhere. In a higher sense women are beginning to be individuals. New avenues of self-realization present themselves day by day, running with their multitude of subdivisions, enough to last until the end of time, through the range of religion, philosophy, science, morals, art, and sport. It is true that many men will not take advantage of their opportunities but the signs indicate that more will seek the new and varied freedom than sought adventure in the free struggle for wealth.

Social studies of leisure time have shown that many men in their struggle for existence have either never learned to play or else have completely inhibited the capacity. Nevertheless the interest in sport news and the fact that in this age of commercialism the amateur dominates the field are pregnant for the future. Evidently the glories of success and the strenuousness of competition in sport offer satisfactions that wealth cannot give. Not only are there constant announcements of new events such as the ascent of Mt. Everest and flights around the world appearing, but records are constantly being broken and new heroes elevated. At the same time increasing numbers of people are being brought into participation. The business man who grinds for his wealth *lives* when he gets to his golf. Artistic appreciation and performance, extending from the movie to the amateur photographer, from the civic opera to the village band, from municipal architecture to house decoration, from group to individual expression, are spreading like a prairie fire. The more we are free from economic necessity the more we seek to capture beauty.

As the world grows smaller through modern inventions we have new problems of human relations which demand experimentation in morality and reformulation of ethics. Duty with a large D is easy to recognize but the infinite problems of specific duties will occupy man until the sun grows cold. It requires character and courage to become a moral hero.

For the few, science has always been a more attractive mistress than wealth. Its devotees have often found honor, but their satisfac-

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tions are actually in the pursuit and its limits are unbounded. There can be little doubt but that the unknown scientists in great corporations are happier and more free than the famous captains who control them.

Philosophy, both naive and systematic, underlies neighborhood gossip and is applauded at the Rotary Club. Men want to know more and more about ultimate realities. The struggle for intellectual freedom has had its martyrs and there will be many more. As the pressure, however, of economic and religious control is released the scope of the intellect will enlarge. A wise man is appreciated by his own and succeeding generations, and truth is such a whimsical mistress that all may struggle for her.

The eternal mysteries which make religion universal are infinite in their reach. Now that science is undermining the ancient myths and that comparative religion has laid before us the varieties of religion, it is possible for every individual to adventure where his spirit leads him. The upspringing of bizarre sects shows the incipient move in this direction. The appreciation of the character of Gandhi the world over shows that interest is universal and that enlargement of the religious vision is admired.

The escape from economic anarchy and injustice will not have a smooth course but its direction is certain. The individualism that will come will not be so much the result of idealistic wishing as of the elemental drives seeking outlets for expression. Individualism in the human, as distinguished from the pig-trough, sense is just beginning. As we climb from stage to stage we must expect chaos, but the very fact of chaos will be a constant challenge to the individual to reduce it. We can look forward then to a rugged individualism such as its economic exponents have never dreamed possible; and everyone can have the joy of being an adventurer in its pursuit—instead of the few who are adventurers in the present dying system.

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The Essence of Judaism

HANS KOHN[1]
Historian

THE Jew, living far more than two thousand years as a distinct group among the nations of the earth, has always been to them an object of strangeness and bewilderment. There seems in the Jewish character a disquieting permanency of essential traits. In the Bible as well as in the Jewish literature of the Middle Ages the Jew confronts us with the same character and evaluation of the world as at present. Reading the ancient scriptures we seem again and again to hear and to witness our own voices, our own struggles and conflicts. The mistrust, astonishment, and aversion of the ancient Roman authors toward the Jewish communities living among them, yet strangely separated from them, is analogous to the attitude of the modern nations. Nevertheless the Jewish valuation of life and history has entered the spiritual domain of mankind as a basic element. Undoubtedly this Jewish character and its expression form part of the composite texture of that universal civilization which today comprises the Mediterranean Basin, Europe, and America and tends in our day to spread all over the earth. From the time when, in the Mediterranean lands, the ancient world (constituted by the integration of Hellenism into Romanism) in its weary dissolution was conquered by Jewish thought and by the Jewish world attitude (that same ancient world soon, of course, again to Hellenize and Romanize the Judaism which swept over it), we find the influence of the Jewish spirit in all European phenomena. It was especially strong in periods of transition, of religious and socio-political reform and revolution.

What is the distinct quality of this Judaism which has always been experienced as a peculiar entity and never denied as such? How is it that Israel alone among so many closely related peoples living in the same or similar climatic environments, under parallel social conditions, developed these definite characteristics; how has it alone, among all the nations of the ancient Orient and of antiquity, remained till today a specific unity? Neither the word "milieu" nor the word

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"race" enables us to see more deeply into the matter. Race is a hotly contested and insufficiently explained concept, and certain it is that pure race is of no importance. The most characteristic nation of antiquity beside the Jews, the Greeks, was a composite race; nevertheless there is an unmistakable Greek type which has played its all-important part in the shaping of humanity. Kurt Breysig defines race as "the sum of characteristics of body and soul which a national group has *once* in its past received from its environment, from earth, and heaven in the *decisive* period of its development." For the Jews the decisive hour of their fate was their sojourn in Palestine, brief though it was in comparison with their entire history. And certain it also is that the natural environment influences us. But we also transform the land; something of the soul of the men and the races whom the soil has borne has been impressed on it. Often it may appear as if land and people are animated by the same rhythm. But which is the molder and which the molded? It is similar to character and fate; does character determine fate or fate character? The nation shapes its history and is at the same time the product of its history. A national culture is an emanation from the national type, its objectivation and representation, but at the same time national life is the concrescence and crystallization of culture. Since the investigation of Buckle a creative force has been attributed to the milieu; based on Darwin's theory, adaptation and its needs are supposed to transform and determine the spirit. In France, Tourville and Demolins created a social geography; in Germany, Friedrich Ratzel pointed to the importance of locality for history. Doubtless nature is one of the formative forces, but not the true and ultimate force of development. Many other peoples have inhabited the same ground as Israel, or similar adjacent lands, but none have exhibited similar phenomena.

The truth is that adaptation explains the sinuosities of the movement of evolution, but not its general direction, still less the movement itself. The road that leads to the town is obliged to follow the ups and downs of the hills; it adapts itself to the accidents of the ground; but the accidents of the ground are not the course of the road, nor have they given it its direction. At every moment they furnish it with what is indispensable, namely the soil on which it lies; but if we consider the whole of the road, instead of each of its parts, the accidents of the ground appear only as impediments or causes of delay, for the road aims simply at the town and would fain be a straight line. Just so as regards the evolution of life and the circumstances through which

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it passes—with the difference, that evolution does not mark out a solitary route, but takes various directions, and that it remains inventive even in its adaptations. Adaptation to nature and fate can influence the spirit but it cannot create its life and its history. (Henri Bergson.)

The characteristic essence of an individual as well as of a people can be understood only from within and not through external causes. There are colorless individuals and colorless peoples without a pronounced way of life; scarcely noticed, they slip ineffectively through life and history. Their participation in the spiritual reality is infinitely small. Again in other individuals and peoples certain universal human capabilities and characteristics are developed to a very special degree, usually at the expense of others. Such peoples and individuals act as stimuli to new possibilities and impress their stamp on others. To such peoples of highly pronounced traits belong the Jews. Through all the changes of time they have remained a unity, cemented by various elements—(by such purely physical elements as heredity and origin; by a common spiritual, mental endowment; by the objectivated expression of this mental endowment in intellectual achievements and cultural traditions; by fate and history)—and separated from all other peoples by their definite spiritual-psychological traits. We can say nothing concerning the origin of this character, for the Jews made their entry into history with a distinct character. In its turn history strengthened and developed this character, providing it with new possibilities.

The essence of a people as well as of an individual cannot be comprehended in its totality. Its aspects can be recognized by us only in its expansion and development, the temporal process which we call history. In the historical life of humanity there arises and develops a particular spiritual world with man as its volitional, purposive member. In this world whose essence is striving, a desire to extend beyond itself, there are no laws grounded in spatial coexistence and comparable to the laws of nature, but, corresponding to the temporal successive basis of the process, there are directions of striving, tendencies. Here unity of direction replaces unity of law. This is not a matter of the consequences of homogeneous individual cases but of a series of uniquely formed, albeit similarly directed, cases. But tendencies like everything living are not fixed, completed, but tensions and endeavors, growths whose objective, intellectual deposits in the ideas and

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culture of a people are regarded more as a task than as a fulfilment. And whereas every people participates in the entire spiritual world of humanity and its richness, in different peoples different characteristics, abilities, and tendencies experience a distinct emphasis. Not the possession of definite traits defines a people but the tendency to their accentuation. But, as in all living things, the boundaries are movable —not, as is the case with scientific notions, something created first by convention and definition. The essential tendencies of a people find themselves intertwined with others and struggle to prevail. Everywhere there is trial and the possibility of new developments; the way, never finished, strives ever toward distant things never completely comprehensible, never completely definable. What are the tendencies which define Judaism?

We can approach their understanding best by comparing them with what are in many ways the diametrically different tendencies of Hellenism. Jews and Greeks, peoples of temporal and spatial senses, hearing and sight, represent, in a perfection only once attained in history, two different types of humanity. The ancient Greeks were the people of sight, of spatial and plastic sense. Jacob Burckhardt called them the "eye of the world." They knew how to look and therein lay their world historical importance; knowledge and perception (not only in the etymology of *οιδα*) formed in them a unity. Their art as well as their philosophy was plastic, space-dominating and space-forming. It is as if they sought to transpose the flowing, temporal, unlimitedly related elements into rest, space, limitation, to give the formless form. In its final expression their philosophy was plastic, their instrument the defining chisel. *ὁρίζειν* means in Greek to limit, but also to form concepts. Plato's ideas are primordial pictures, the world purified of the dross of growth and based on the pure types of Being. For the Greek, the stone with which he built was the symbol of space and perception; for the Jew, the stream into which he dips is the symbol of time and becoming. "The roaring sea of time into which the stream of development empties affects the Greek but little. For him Athena is victorious over Poseidon, the rock over the sea; and in his landscape the rivers trickle away finally among the stones" (Karl Joel). The Greek turned everything into form and marble and tended in a supreme effort to eliminate the restlessness of time from the world. He alone was capable of endowing the world

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with the instruments of scientific thought, taming the Dionysian overflow of events into the serene majesty of Apollinic order.

The Jew lives in time. He does not see so much as hear. His senses do not encircle the contours, rather are they intent on the inner flow. His organ is the ear, his form the call. God's voice comes to him again and again, appeals to him. Herein its historians have seen the meaning of its destiny from the very beginning. The call permits the will of the Jew to brace itself for the all-consuming deed; he is the man of will, of deed. He is, if in rare moments he lives up to the call, the untiring mouthpiece, the unflinching messenger. His God experience does not permit him, as it does the Greek, to attain to serene contemplation, philosophic vision, and a self-consuming absorption; it calls him to the torment of the solitary preacher and leader. Apostacy (and this happens to everyone, even the noblest, to Moses, Jeremiah, Jesus, the hour of doubt and despair, of fearful inner distance from God), however, protects him from mystical identity with God who throughout the entire literature remains the goal of desire and imbeds him in the irrational tragedy of humanity. The message of the prophets is "Massa," burden, and Moses complains, "I am not able to bear all this people alone because it is too heavy for me. And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, if I have found favor in thy sight." And likewise Jeremiah curses his task and his consequent difficult life in deep-stirring verses: "O Lord, Thou hast enticed me, and I was enticed, Thou hast overcome me, and hast prevailed; I am become a laughing-stock all the day, Every one mocketh me. . . . Cursed be the day wherein I was born. . . . Because He slew me not from the womb; and so my mother would have been my grave." In this people God became a voice. The "Hear" sounds again and again. When Elijah perceives God he hears only a still small voice. For that reason the Jew never made a picture of his God. The word, the λόγος, is for the Jew the intermediary between infinity and the individual being, but the vibrating word carries more of infinity in it than the rigid form of a picture. God's *word* is from the beginning the creative force and the Jewish miracle worker and saint is called in the Jewish legends the "master of the good name," because God's *name* is the greatest mystery and the greatest power. The name and the sound, not the image, conjures and creates.

Sight is the organ of space, hearing the organ of time. The Greek

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transfigures space, his thoughts are objectified in the multiple dimensions of space which at the same time however is limited. For him only the defined and the finite is beautiful and perfect. Plato derives the beautiful from the effect of the limited in the illimitable, from measuredness and symmetry; and similarly, Aristotle perceives the beautiful in order and symmetry and the molded. The material strives toward form, finite limitation. Thus for the Greek the most perfect figure is the circle, the most perfect motion the circular, the motion of ether and the heavenly bodies. And just as in the esthetic realm the condition of beauty is the complete harmony of diametrically striving forces in the closed structure of a space of various dimensions, so in the ethical realm the condition of beauty is the condition of a sound mind, Σωφροσύνη, the mean in respect of pleasures and pains. In Greek philosophy the Jew Philo is the first who places a higher value on the infinite value than on the proportionate finite.

Space is the form of our development into plurality, time binds our development in the stream of unity. The eye creates distance, plurality, and the quietness of contiguity. The Greeks were not only the masters of plastic art but the creators of drama from the chaos of exuberant music. But they lacked, as Jacob Burckhardt says, the solitary song. The psalm, on the other hand, was the most characteristic Jewish poetical form. Even to this very day the Jew has remained lyrist, a master in this most formless and most subjective art, closest to the flowing stream, farthest from the stone.

The Jew lives in the realm of time more than in space. Contemporary Jewish philosophers have over-emphasized the basic importance of time. Bergson has made the living, flowing continuity of time the vehicle of his world picture. In *Creative Evolution* he speaks of the "time which we feel as the substance of our life." In Gustav Landauer's philosophic work *Skepsis und Mystik* which was written in total ignorance of Bergson's world of thought, there is a chapter "The World as Time" containing the following words: "To express temporally everything spatial is perhaps one of the most important tasks of coming humanity. It would be well with the aid of the ear to perceive, once and for all, the world temporally and to say . . . time must take the place of space." The world as time does not know of separation into a plurality of dimensions, it is one-dimensional; it points to the past, surges toward the future, and overcomes the tension

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of various directions in the forceful unity of its stream. The world as time is a polar world. It is burdened with the tradition of the past and the forward-driving urge propels it into the uncertain future. It does not know the balance of those forces which have developed contiguously and harmoniously, itself is force, one-sided and not many-sided, tending toward extremes and avoiding compromises, rushing toward the infinite. This life of tension and of a permanent appeal is bare of the harmony of beauty, of the vision of art which the Greek genius bestowed upon mankind. But the man living in this tension and bearing its burden longs, as scarcely another, for the conquering of this tension, for a unity which is a unification of all opposites and a goal and task for his life. Martin Buber has called the Jew a polar phenomenon, a character wherein the opposites are in the greatest conceivable tension. From this polarity emerges the striving toward unification. "Make my heart one" sings the Psalmist. And the Jewish poet of our day, Franz Werfel, prays, "Why did you not grant me unity? Purify and make me one. Behold, all thy knowing children, from the remotest times, complain of the number two." To the Jews God is the One, the unique Being, the executor of unification, the goal of the unification of humanity. In the daily evening prayer we read, "Our God make thy name *one* and establish thy kingdom." The unified man and the one God belong together. In the main prayer recited daily by every Jew, found in the fifth book of Moses and emphasized by Jesus as the outstanding word, the unity of God is announced to the people in a solemn call. And following the call the demand is made that man also should be undivided, unified, complete, and whole; that he should not falter but unite his many contrary talents and tendencies. "With all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your might," we read there. God is the reconciliation of multiplicity to unity: man must unite the multifarious tendencies in himself.

Lagarde has interpreted the Hebrew word, meaning God, El, as "striving towards a goal." God is a goal for man, the life of man a way to him through the dynamic deed. God is—but through verification he becomes reality in the life of man. It is the deed which the Jew values fundamentally; only secondarily does mere belief concern him. In post-Paulinian Christianity, belief and redemption are the decisive factors. The confession of the correct belief bound the Christians together. But Judaism (and the Jew Jesus) placed value on the

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fulfilment of God's will through the deed. Judaism did not know of any dogmatic confession of faith; it did know of the interpretation of God's will in relation to human activity. The unity of human nature occurs in activity, in the temporal process of the struggle of the human soul, in the exertion of the will, not in the contemplation of knowledge. (The Greeks, on the other hand, never doubted that all men would love virtue if they could contemplate it.) The way of the deed, however, leads through an uninterrupted series of decisions. To decide is the duty, the burden, and the nobility of man. Decision is exertion, courage, and danger. Out of weariness, disinterestedness, inertia, cowardice one evades any decision, and herein for the Jew lies sin. In fulfilment of the word in *Genesis*, "You will be like God, knowing good and evil," *Deuteronomy* says, "Today I put before you blessing and curse, life and good, death and evil. . . ." "Alas that you should be hot or cold," we read in the Revelation of John. The one God demands the indivisible man entirely given over to his task.

This instinct for unity permits the Jew to conceive unity in the world—he is the first among the peoples to recognize the unity of history. And in their view of history this manner of time-thought experiences its most far-reaching consequence with the Jews. It may be, as Alexander von Humboldt states in his *Kosmos*, that the Jewish monotheistic view, which always encompasses the whole of the universe as a unity guided by a single force, belongs to the cultural elements which have produced, since the Renaissance, the modern view of nature. To Jewish thinkers, however, the important fact was not nature but man and his activity. Man brought unity into the flow of time, meaning into the trickling, running, generating process of events. The Jewish God is not a God of nature but a God of history. Unlike Zeus, the adjective, cloud-gathering, did not adorn him. When he solemnly proclaims himself it is as the God of the historical deed: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." The social ethics which God demands is not given as a mere command. It is not rationally but historically grounded. "You shall not oppress the stranger for you know the heart of the stranger, seeing you were strangers in the land of Egypt." And it is the historical consciousness which binds the generations together. "Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes have seen, and lest they depart from

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thy heart all the days of thy life: but teach them to thy sons and thy sons' sons." "When thy son asketh thee in time to come, saying, what mean the testimonies and the statutes and the judgments which the Lord our God commanded you, then thou shalt say unto thy son, we were Pharaoh's bondmen in Egypt; but the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand." And even today the Jews celebrate the Passover festival as if they themselves had been delivered from Egypt, as if the unity of the generations bound them together inwardly and outwardly, as if history were not dead but alive in every hour of the present. An historical consciousness, unique in its strength, animates this people, permeates each of its works, lends it a permanency and a certainty which are inexplicable. This people has made its home in time and duration more than in space; therefore time seems powerless to do it any harm. But with this consciousness, history, otherwise a meaningless up and down of isolated actions, and every action of man, gains meaning and an unsuspected value, a new relation to God. History is the way of God.

But men are called by God to be the vehicles of the process of history. A tremendous responsibility rests on them. At this point man leaves the state of mere nature and enters into the spiritual realm of history, which is, however, grounded in nature. All are cornerstones in the great process, God's tools, his helps. In the utterances of the prophets, starting with Amos, there is disclosed for the first time a view of human history as a unity, of humanity actually felt as such. But among all peoples Israel from the beginning feels most strongly the meaning of history, the responsibility of God's call, and has a premonition of the end which at all times its leaders have longed for with an enthusiasm directed toward the final goal of humanity. For the way of God demands on the part of man a striving toward moral perfection. To be torn loose from the innocent loveliness and playfulness of nature and lifted into the tempest of God is fearful. The natural instincts of man rebel again and again, lose courage. Few peoples felt the call so strongly as the Jews, few peoples have known sin and defection so deeply. Since the departure from Egypt and the long march through the desert an eternal murmur has gone up from the Jewish people, a longing for the flesh-pots of the natural life, a continual departure from God's way. The teachers of a later period have attempted—and with success, although thereby conjuring up

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other dangers—by means of a more and more extensive regimenting of all the actions of life, to place them continually in relation to God's will, thus sanctifying them. These later teachers have sought thereby to evade the danger of the gravity of continually renewed individual decisions and thus to provide certainty. The burden is therefore made more difficult in its outward appearance but at the same time lighter, more complicated yet simpler. But the goal remains the same.

The historical consciousness of the Jewish people projects unity into the events of time; the concept of universal history as a unified process appears, from the time of Amos, clearer and clearer; the task of man as a moral, acting vehicle is, since the sealing of the covenant under Moses, a certainty and attains in the words of the prophets its definite expression; and as the final crown, one goal is recognized in this unified history—God. His way (history) is a way to him. From the elements of the Jewish nature, from the time-intuition and historical consciousness, from the demand of the moral deed rises the messianic longing.

For the Jew the future world is not a beyond but a growth and an approach within time. It is the time of the unification of every man, since, truly unified within himself and with the entire universe of which he is a part, he will be devoted with his whole heart to God, to the unification of all men in a brotherly covenant, to the unification of all nature in peace. Here for the first time the great goal of the final moral perfection of all humanity is presented. The enthusiasm of man aims at a struggle with the absolute, with the infinite; an inextinguishable restlessness entered the world and through Christianity spread to many peoples. The goal is given; the kingdom of God, the messianic kingdom of the future. The way to this kingdom is given; to do God's will, which means to do justice, to become perfect as he is perfect, to be holy as he is holy and in order that he may become sanctified. All men strive toward this kingdom. But the Jews as a people from their first national beginnings, in their apostacy and martyrdom, in their leaders—Moses, the prophets, Jesus, the great teachers of the talmudic period, Baalschemtov, as well as the many who quietly and unnoticed have struggled and suffered for the sanctification of his name, that is, who have been called to live for his kingdom—have become the advocates of this struggle, and have borne his yoke most severely.

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Our Intellectual Graveyards

THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER
Professor of American History, Princeton University

RECENTLY I was conversing with a distinguished philanthropist. "It is my ambition to make the college with which I am associated one of the leading institutions of the country," he volunteered. "I do not want to convert it into a university by establishing a graduate school; I would throw all my resources into the college. I would limit the number of students, so that there would be close association between teacher and pupil. And I would draw together a distinguished faculty by setting a high salary scale. How much would I have to offer," he enquired, "to secure in each field the ablest man in the country?" "I greatly fear," I replied, "that you could not tempt them by any amount of money. Distinguished scholars and teachers are not willing to devote all their time to undergraduates. The men you want acquired distinction because they have had opportunities for self-development, especially the opportunity for contact with advanced students. To give over their lives to undergraduate lectures, classroom teaching, and grading of papers holds for them a rather dreary prospect."

The European conception of the university is fundamentally different from that of the United States. The American visitor to the Sorbonne or to Heidelberg is surprised to find that the development of scholars rather than the instruction of students seems to be the chief aim. Something of the spirit of the Middle Ages, when the scholarly reputation of an Abelard or a Duns Scotus attracted thousands, still clings to these old institutions. If the members of the faculty of a German university, let us say, acquire international distinction as physicists or mathematicians or classicists, if here and there they have a Nobel prize winner, that university is considered highly successful. The students are a secondary consideration and in most cases are left pretty much to shift for themselves. Lacking the class system and the close supervision of the American college they drift

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from lecture to lecture, shape their reading as best they can, and, when they face the final examination, have about an even chance of failing. The ablest students, who are singled out for work in the seminars, receive careful direction but the American idea of mass instruction is foreign to the Europeans.

In Germany there is no counterpart of the American college. The gymnasium is an advanced preparatory school and the university essentially a group of professional schools. There are no entrance examinations, no assigned textbooks, no course examinations, and attendance at lectures is optional. The professor, after he has delivered his lecture to an ill-assorted assemblage of students, retires to his study or his laboratory and turns his attention to his experiments or his writing. The library system is designed to meet the needs of the professor, who may withdraw hundreds of books from the shelves for his private seminar, out of reach of the average student. In the library itself there is always the large reading room for students, with hand-picked books lining the wall, but if one desires a volume from the stacks he is fortunate if he secures it twenty-four hours after making his application.

To the American these defects seem serious—in fact many thoughtful German educators are studying our universities with a view to engrafting the best features upon their own institutions, for they realize that the German system errs in sacrificing instruction for scholarship, that what is gained in advancing human knowledge is offset by the wastage in student effort.

The American institutions of learning had their origin, not as universities but as colleges. They were founded, most of them, by various sects, primarily for the purpose of giving instruction in religion. In the nineteenth century, under the inspiration of Thomas Jefferson, the religious ideals of the colleges gradually gave ground before the demand for training for citizenship. There remain many denominational colleges, which still emphasize religious instruction, but today the average institution of higher learning concentrates on mass instruction for service to the nation. It is frankly a machine for preparing young men and women, not only for the professions but for the complicated life of today.

In this system, in contrast to that of the European universities, scholarship is a secondary consideration. By far the larger part of the

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American institutions are avowedly colleges rather than universities and have neither professional nor graduate schools. This constitutes their chief weakness, in fact the chief weakness of the entire American system of education, for it ignores the all-important consideration of the continued development of the teachers. It is based on the false assumption that the professor's education is completed when he secures his Doctor of Philosophy degree and begins his teaching career. As a result he slowly deteriorates and the institution he serves suffers in consequence.

Of the hundreds of young teachers whom the graduate schools turn out each year the ablest secure positions as instructors in the leading universities. The others go to the smaller colleges. If we follow one of these less fortunate graduates we find him setting out for his future home fired with enthusiasm for his profession, vowing he will not relinquish his research, that he will at once set about expanding his dissertation into a book, that he will continue always to make his contribution to science or to the humanities.

But he finds he must do eighteen hours of undergraduate teaching a week, that he must take time to prepare for his lectures, that grading papers is a heavy task, that he is expected to serve on two or three committees. Many of the books he needs are not in the library and his laboratory is poorly equipped. Less and less he turns to his manuscript until at last it lies on the shelf neglected and covered with dust. Then he marries and his fate is sealed. Before this he had had the hope of getting away to a large institution but now he cannot afford to exchange his $3500 professorship for a $2000 instructorship elsewhere, for it would mean actual privation for his family. Moreover, instructors in the large universities are not on permanent tenure. Suppose he should prove a failure and find himself at the end of a year without a job.

He therefore reconciles himself to his fate and seeks to make the most of it. "After all," he tells himself, "the small college offers many compensations. Here my relationship with my students is intimate; I can influence them by my personality as well as by my mind. My world may be a little world but in it I am a useful and respected member." But he grows a little wistful when he reads in the paper that Professor Smith, an old friend at the graduate school, has made some notable scientific discovery or that Professor Jones has been

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awarded an honorary degree or that Professor Brown has published a book which promises to be the standard work in his field.

When he reflects on his own efficiency at the task in which he spends his life new doubts assail him. Is he as able a teacher as he would like to be; does he inspire his students; does he keep abreast of his own field? When he began his teaching career his students realized that he had something to give them, something with which he was brimming over. But now, after years of repetition, the fire has died out within him. Since he has not been able to rekindle his own enthusiasm with fresh discoveries he can arouse no enthusiasm in his students. One day he overhears a student remark: "There goes old Dry-as-dust, he hasn't had a new idea since 1890. I hope to Heaven I don't get in his section." He knows then that he is a failure.

It would be incorrect to say that in the small colleges teaching is uniformly bad, that in every case the professor becomes dull and tedious as the years grow on him. Some of the ablest teachers in the country are in the small colleges. But they are the minority, who have risen superior to adverse conditions, who refuse to sink into mediocrity beneath the weight of overwork and isolation. On rare, very rare, occasions, a leading university discovers one of these men and calls him into its own faculty. The less determined or the less able soon give over the struggle to maintain high standards as scholars and teachers. Teaching is, of course, partly a matter of personality, partly a matter of technique. The ablest scholar may be a very poor teacher indeed, a mediocre scholar may be an able teacher. What the instructor in the small college lacks in inspiration he sometimes makes up in his ability to win the friendship and admiration of his students and to place the subject matter before them clearly and convincingly. But, after all, teaching is the imparting of ideas and unless the instructor has ideas, fresh ideas, he cannot impart them.

Even in the larger universities, where the opportunities for scholarly development for the faculty are greater, teachers often permit themselves to stagnate. Lacking intellectual curiosity or, more frequently, creative ability, they fail to keep abreast of the latest findings in their field and themselves have no new discoveries to offer. As a consequence their teaching suffers. They pass on to the smaller colleges or, if they remain, have the humiliation of seeing younger men promoted over their heads.

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The deadening influence cast over the American educational system by the lack of proper facilities for the continued development of the professors has been met in part in the universities by the establishment of graduate schools, thus giving the teacher the opportunity to keep his mind alert through contact with advanced students. He must read widely in order to conduct his courses, he must exercise the creative faculty in order to direct the doctors' dissertations. The avowed purpose of the graduate school is to prepare students for the teaching profession; in practice it has been equally important as a means of educating the professor himself.

There has for a long time been a difference of opinion among the graduates of Princeton as to whether the institution should be a university or a college. "Let our Faculty give their attention to the undergraduates," some say, "instead of frittering away their time in abstruse research work or in teaching a handful of graduate students. After all they are employed to train young men." Some of this group go so far as to regret the establishment at Princeton of a graduate school. Now that it is here they insist that there must be constant vigilance to keep it from absorbing the interests of the faculty. To them the bespectacled research man who is inflicted upon the unfortunate freshmen and sophomores is quite a bugaboo. "How do you like your new instructor?" asked one alumnus of his freshman son. "Oh, all right, I suppose, only he is not interested in me, he is too busy with his research."

It will be well to admit at once that there is some truth in these complaints. The temptation to keep on the faculty those men who are doing notable research work is very great, even though these men are poor instructors. Still greater is the temptation to attract graduate students by giving them paying positions as part-time teachers.

Yet it should be obvious that a graduate school is an indispensable adjunct to every first-class American college. Without it the faculty is hopelessly handicapped. The remarkable progress made by Princeton in recent years in teaching and in undergraduate standards is partly the result of the preceptorial system, partly of the Four-Course plan of study; but without the Graduate School it would have been impossible. The ideal of the college as independent from the university is very alluring and has even won over certain distinguished educators. But it is an impracticable ideal and those colleges which

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have accepted it will sooner or later be forced to retrace their steps. The issue is clearly this: Will they have a first-class college as a part of a university or a second-class college standing alone?

Although the lack of opportunity for mental development for the professor is most noticeable in the small colleges, the situation in many of the universities is also far from ideal. The story is told of a member of a legislative committee, investigating a state university, who asked the President how many hours the faculty taught. "Our average is ten hours," was the reply. "Too much, too much," answered the committeeman, "I am a firm believer in the eight-hour day."

At times college presidents, in order to build up a group of distinguished scholars and teachers, try to draw them from other universities. These efforts may be attended with a certain degree of success but they are in themselves confessions of weakness, advertising to the world the fact that conditions in that university are not favorable for the development of able scholars and teachers. A blood transfusion is hardly necessary for one in perfect health. For the man who has spent the better part of his life in the service of the university it is a tragedy when he sees the position to which he has been aspiring filled from the outside. It is a notification that he is more or less of a failure. Perhaps he reflects with a tinge of bitterness that his lack of success is not so much his own fault as that of the institution he serves. It is cold consolation when he is told that the department needs strengthening and that all its members will benefit by contact with the distinguished outsider.

The building of an able faculty is, of course, partly a matter of selection. The larger universities have a great advantage over the small universities and colleges in that they secure the pick of the available men completing their work at the graduate schools. Most of them, moreover, have a system of testing young teachers which gives double assurance that none but the more desirable become fixtures. Usually the instructor is engaged for one year. Should he prove worthy of a further trial he is kept on for a year at a time until he has served five years. If he is still developing satisfactorily, both as a teacher and a scholar, he is made an assistant professor. Not until he is an associate professor, however, is his period of probation ended and is he placed on permanent tenure. The chairman of the depart-

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ment is a very poor judge of ability indeed if he cannot discover in a period of from eight to ten years whether this man will remain successful as a teacher and continue to develop as a productive scholar.

On the other hand the small university and the college cannot be so independent in the matter of selection. Since they have little to offer in the way of salary and especially of research facilities they must hold on to an instructor if he gives reasonable promise of success. If they happen to find a brilliant teacher and scholar they have reason to rejoice, unless, indeed, some other institution discovers him and takes him away.

But admitting this advantage of the larger university, it is obvious that this accounts only in a minor degree for the wide difference in the matter of faculty development. The young Doctor of Philosophy who begins his career at a university which lightens the burden of undergraduate teaching, which gives periodic leaves of absence, which is equipped with a fine library and other aids to research, has an enormous advantage over one who goes to an institution where these things are lacking. The first, if he has the native ability, will acquire distinction; the second, unless he is a genius, will hardly rise above mediocrity.

The lack of efficiency of the professor in the small colleges is all the more tragic because of the crying need of the nation and the world for trained scholars. In these days of harassing public problems—economic problems, political problems, social problems, scientific problems—the people have a right to look to the college professor for leadership. Should not the teachers of economics be able to tell us how to recast our system of currency or our students of politics how to make over our governmental bureaus? Should not the recent request of Governor Moore that Princeton University investigate the organization of the New Jersey government and make recommendations for improvements have been accepted as a matter of course instead of arousing a chorus of surprised protests! If the many thousands of specialists in our universities and colleges are fitted to teach their subjects, they should also be capable of applying their knowledge to the needs of the country. The idea that the colleges should prepare young men for leadership is universally accepted but few seem to expect leadership of the teachers themselves.

And what contributions are made, whether to science, the human-

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ities, or the social sciences, come almost entirely from the universities. The small college cannot have any appreciable share in advancing human knowledge or in solving public problems. The tens of thousands of professors in these institutions constitute in this respect a tremendous waste, a neglected potential resource for progress.

We cannot blink the fact that the failings of the small colleges constitute a major defect in American education. Some college presidents have been conscious of this situation and have done what lay in their power to correct it. One has built up the library, another has limited the hours of instruction for each teacher, another has given periodical leaves of absence. But even in the very small group of colleges which have found it possible to do all these things, the results have not been entirely satisfactory. And in the vast bulk of the colleges no such program is possible. They are in need of money—money to increase salaries, money for equipment, money for buildings, money for retiring pensions. They cannot add thousands of dollars to the annual budget to carry out a program of development for faculty members. Something has been done by the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, and other organizations, by the award of research fellowships to college teachers. But these foundations are quite inadequate to cope with the situation as a whole.

It is probable that the near future will see an attempt to solve this problem by the grouping of colleges for cooperation in advanced work. The ideal situation would be for a university which enjoys high standards and ample facilities to enter into agreements with a number of nearby colleges. The faculty members of the colleges would be encouraged to spend a year at the university, partly as research workers, partly as teachers, while instructors or perhaps graduate students from the university took over their work at the college. In this way the professor would be stimulated by an interchange of ideas with scholars in his own field, by contact with a new type of students, by better library and laboratory facilities. He would go back to the college with new enthusiasm for his teaching, with fresh inspiration for his research problems.

Equally important would be the granting of the Master's and Doctor's degrees by the group of institutions in common. A college with a faculty of but forty or fifty finds it impracticable to establish

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enough graduate courses to justify the conferring of these degrees. But it might have a dozen or more courses which would prove invaluable stimulants to the men who gave them. If a similar situation existed in the other colleges a graduate student might with profit take three or four courses, one in each college, trusting to the "bus" or to a private car for transportation. For his second year he would assume residence at the university where he would do most or all of his work. The general examinations, although held at the university, would be conducted by the group as a whole. In some cases all the class work might be done in the colleges, leaving to the university the task of directing the dissertation.

Where no such close affiliation can be effected much good could be accomplished by encouraging the professor in the small college to make frequent visits to the university for work in the library. Twenty years ago this would have been impracticable; in this day of cheap automobiles and hard-surfaced roads it entails no serious difficulty. Our professor could run fifty or more miles in his car in an hour and a half, spend six hours in the library, and be back at home in time for dinner.

Whether such a scheme of grouping colleges around a university would be successful can be determined only by putting it to the test. The vital thing at present is to awaken public consciousness to the defects of our college system. When it is understood that the failure to provide opportunities for advanced work for the professor hampers his intellectual growth and impairs his efficiency as a teacher, some move for improvement will be inevitable. But so long as the small college is held up as the ideal American institution of advanced learning, so long as there is no realization of the need of continuing the education of the professor throughout life, there is little hope for the future. American colleges, hundreds of them, will remain what they now are, intellectual graveyards.

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Mitigating the Tragedy of our Modern Culture

CASSIUS JACKSON KEYSER

Adrain Professor Emeritus of Mathematics, Columbia University

I LIKE to regard science and mathematics as human enterprises because, though they are doubtless quite as natural as any other cosmic phenomena, they are obviously secular social movements due to the living perennial knowledge-seeking activity of the human spirit. Science (including philosophy as a part) has for its characteristic aim to answer, in the form of articulate propositions, whatever questions may be asked concerning the properties and relations of any part, element, or aspect of the actual world. The characteristic aim of mathematics is to respond to our human curiosity seeking to understand the constitution and content of the world of the logically possible. The enterprises of science and mathematics are, in their reach and effectiveness, paramount among the intellectual enterprises of our time. Far from being remote from mankind, they touch and penetrate the life-interests of every person in the civilized world at every point and moment.

The two great enterprises, as every one knows, are carried on by highly trained specialists, a relatively small group, who, for the sake of their own convenience and in the important interest of intellectual economy, have gradually created, and must continue to create, a highly technical language of their own. Consequently, when they express their thought they do not communicate their ideas to the general public, not even when these are intellectually qualified to receive them, but only to their fellow specialists. And this is true not only when the ideas are of a kind hardly admitting of anything like adequate expression in ordinary speech but also when the ideas readily admit of such expression. As a result the literature of science and the literature of mathematics are as Greek to the majority of literate mankind and even to all those men and women who together constitute the great public of highly intellectual non-specialists.

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Mitigating the Tragedy of our Modern Culture

What does the phrase, "The tragedy of our modern culture," signify? The answer lies in the words of one who is at once a distinguished creative mathematician, an eminent mathematical physicist, and an outstanding philosopher of the heroic type—Professor Hermann Weyl. In his physically small but spiritually big book, *The Open World*, Weyl has said (the italics being mine):

> The more modern science, especially Physics and Mathematics, strives to recognize nature as it is in itself or as it comes from God, the more it has to depart from the human, all too human, ideas with which we respond to our practical surroundings in the natural attitude of our existence of strife and action. And the more strange and *incomprehensible* it must necessarily become to those who cannot devote their *entire time* and *energy* to the development and readjustment of their theoretical thinking: *herein lies the actual and inevitable tragedy of our culture.* For the philosophical and metaphysical import of Science has not declined but has rather grown through its estrangement from the naïve world of human conceptions.

Observe what the nature of the tragedy is. It is not the tragedy of an aspiring race of beings perpetually driven by the force of an inner urge to the spending of their time and energy in a vain endeavor to win understanding of an inscrutable world. For the abode of mankind is not an inscrutable world but is, by every token, a world that is open to the endlessly conquering invasion of the human understanding. Neither is the tragedy that of those immense multitudes of men who, notwithstanding Aristotle's dictum that "All men by nature desire to know," are evidently without such intellectual curiosity and talent as could possibly lead them to forms of knowledge beyond the exigent demands of bare existence or vulgar life. It is safe to say that there are in the world some hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of men and women who by their native endowments of intellect were in their youth well qualified for the successful pursuit of science or for that of mathematics but who, owing to misdirected education or to accidents of fortune or to the coercions of unfriendly circumstance or to the competing appeals of other interests have chosen, or have been constrained, to devote their energies to other pursuits. These are, in a very special sense, victims of what Weyl has called the actual and inevitable tragedy of our culture. It is these who, with ample native capacity for scientific curiosity or wonder, with spiritual gifts qualifying them in youth to have become, like

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Plato's philosopher, "a spectator of all time and all existence," keenly feel the pain of being told in their mature years, and of having to believe, that their conceptions of the essential natures and interrelations of space, time, matter, and mind are as grotesquely crude, inadequate, and false as those of a peasant, and who feel the anguish of finding themselves unable to understand the only literature that could set them right.

Can the tragedy be ended? I believe not. But though continuance of the tragedy is inevitable it does admit of being greatly and increasingly mitigated by the deliberate, persistent cultivation and development, together with extensive and expert practise, of a certain potentially great and thoroughly humane art. I mean the art of popularizing the higher forms of knowledge. This term is often misunderstood and has been much abused by being misapplied. I mean by it here the art of so presenting and expounding scientific and mathematical ideas, methods, and achievements, together with their philosophic implications and spiritual significance, as to engage the interest and reach the understanding of intellectual laymen.

The art is difficult because, very evidently, the successful practise of it demands in the practitioner a threefold equipment that is very rare: scholarly competence; hearty willingness to engage in the work of popular exposition; and a high degree of expository power and skill. On account of the great difficulty of the art and because it has never received extensive and systematic cultivation, masters of it have not been many. But there have been some. William Kingdon Clifford was one of them, as witness his *Common Sense of the Exact Sciences* and his volume of *Lectures and Essays;* Galileo was another, as may be seen in his *The Two New Sciences;* a third was Auguste Comte, as abundantly evidenced in his *Positive Philosophy;* and there have been others, Thomas Huxley, for example, John Tyndall, Ernst Haeckel, Joseph Le Conte, Camille Flammarion, Ernst Mach, Josiah Royce, to name only a few representatives of the few. On the other hand, any one who examines the *Popular Scientific Lectures* of Helmholtz will perceive that, as a popularizer, that great man attained only a moderate degree of excellence; while the late Henri Poincaré, though he repeatedly tried to communicate his thought to the intellectual portion of the lay public, not only failed but failed conspicuously, mainly because of the fact that, despite his marvelous

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genius and immense knowledge, he lacked one element that is absolutely essential to the art in question—patience. No doubt the paucity of great masters of the art is not wholly due to its intrinsic difficulties but is certainly due in great measure to the fact that scientists and mathematicians have nearly always received their technical and specialized training in an institutional atmosphere that has been but little favorable, even when it has not been positively and strongly unfavorable, to the breeding of the type of scholarship here demanded.

What can the art, if cultivated and skilfully exercised, accomplish? A memorable attempt to answer the question was made about 100 years ago by a then well-known French mathematician imbued with the spirit of philosophy, Joseph-Diez Gergonne. His answer, which has long been famous, was this: "One may not imagine that the last word has been said of a given theory until it can be made clear, by a brief explanation, to the man-in-the-street." The words were important because they signalized a great human ideal. By ideal I mean a perfection to be pursued, more and more nearly approached, but never to be quite attained. Gergonne was not only an idealist but also a man of sense and evidently did not intend his dictum to be taken quite literally. So taken, it would obviously be a grotesque extravagance. For there is no ground for thinking that, for example, the general theory of relativity or the more abstruse developments in quantum mechanics or many a higher branch of mathematical analysis can ever be clear to the man-in-the-street.

Moreover "making clear to the man-in-the-street" is far from being the same as "making clear to intellectual laymen." It is the latter variety of "making clear" and not the former kind that the art of popularizing the higher forms of knowledge, as I have characterized the art, has for its aim and its function.

Today, as I have said, the more momentous achievements of science and mathematics, though absolutely essential to an approximately fair understanding of the constitution and structure of our world, are virtually a sealed book for all but a few specialists in an immense community of men and women whose native gifts of mind are not surpassed in degree or in kind by the native gifts of the privileged specialists themselves. The high importance of an agency capable of relieving in large measure a situation at once so grievous and so iniquitous seems too evident to require argument. Neverthe-

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less the importance of that agency has been often questioned and not infrequently denied outright. Let me say that such skeptics and deniers are likely to be rather youngish scientists and mathematicians who have been narrowly trained in some highly technical branch, have thus acquired more knowledge than wisdom, are perhaps a bit puffed up by their nomenclatural attainments, and have not yet learned to distinguish clearly between scientific and jargonistic thinking. Their fault is the pardonable fault of immaturity, and there is always a fair chance that they will discover, in the course of their ripening years, that a vast deal of scientific and of mathematical thought readily admits of being well expressed in the vernacular, if not with the grace and charm of a Santayana at least with the precision and lucidity of a George E. Moore. Mysterious nomenclatures and cabalistic symbols, however impressive, betoken no superiority in those familiar with them. Though often humanly indispensable, they are yet nothing more than diabolic conveniences which a god could dispense with and probably would.

In addition to the foregoing type of those who depreciate, and decline to cultivate, the art of popular exposition, there is the all-or-none type. I mean the type of scientist or mathematician who knows, as others know, that the more recondite of his ideas cannot be made quite understandable to even the most capable of intellectual laymen and who, because he cannot thus expound all of his ideas, refuses to give a popular exposition of even the simpler ones lest he come to be suspected of playing to the gallery or seem to be less profound, remote from the vulgar multitude, imposing, austere, and glacial than he is.

On every hand there are tokens indicating that the expository art is more widely and more intelligently appreciated today than ever, and there are, I believe, good grounds for asserting that its great unrealized potentialities for cultural service are in process of attaining in the public understanding, and will continue to attain, a fuller and fuller measure of realization. There is a high probability that, assuming such a process to be now going on, it will proceed, for a time, at an accelerating pace and thereby work a very favorable and very important psychological change in all concerned. The hitherto baffled desire of intellectual laymen to be made moderately acquainted with the ways and achievements of science and, in some fair measure, with the

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ways and achievements of mathematics, the desire to be thus given help towards winning at least a general perspective view of the best that human thought has achieved, will cease to be a mere desire for such instruction and will be accompanied by a growing sense of a right thereto. Then it will soon be seen that this justly felt right of intellectual laymen imposes upon scientific and mathematical specialists a corresponding obligation which they cannot honorably escape.

One of the tokens above alluded to is the increasing space accorded by the newspaper press to reports of scientific and mathematical activities and discoveries; a second is the notably improving quality of such reports; a third is the increasing frequency and the increasing excellence of popular expositions of scientific and mathematical ideas in magazines primarily devoted to other interests; a fourth token is the increasing demand for scientific and mathematical exposition by means of platform, radio, and screen, and both the increasing number and the increasing competence of the speakers who respond to the demand; a fifth is the growing vogue of college and university instruction in scientific and mathematical history and of the so-called omnibus courses designed to give a general survey of science and mathematics to students not intending to specialize in either of the fields. A specially significant token is the recent birth of two ably edited journals deliberately designed to meet the needs and desires of intellectual non-specialists. One of them is the official journal, *Science News Letter*, of Science Service, primarily devoted to popular scientific exposition; the other is the new quarterly, *Scripta Mathematica*, whose practise, in accord with its established policy, is to include in each of its numbers two or more articles dealing with mathematical philosophy or history or exposition in such a way as to engage the interest and understanding of highly intellectual non-mathematicians.

No informed and thoughtful person can fail to know that we are in an age of momentous transition, involving, as cause and effect, the far advanced and still advancing supersession of the machine age by an age of power—a profound industrial and societal revolution, felt more or less distinctly by all, clearly discerned by many, but most admirably analyzed and depicted by Walter N. Polakov in his recently published book *The Power Age*. Of all the outcomes that may be expected from that revolution perhaps none will be quite so important as the augmentation of leisure. We may confidently expect that one

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consequence of this augmentation will be greatly to improve the opportunities of intellectual laymen to gain, through the agency of popular exposition, a sense and understanding, in some fair measure, of the content and significance of the higher forms of knowledge.

Among the most significant signs is the numerous and growing class of recently published books representing the endeavors of eminent scientists and mathematicians—Sir James Jeans, Sir Arthur Eddington, Bertrand Russell, A. N. Whitehead, Gilbert N. Lewis, Eric T. Bell, Tobias Dantzig, Max Planck, Hermann Weyl, H. Levy, Hans Reichenbach, and others—to enlighten the public of intellectual laymen regarding scientific things in general, and especially regarding the nature and meaning of recent conquests in the fields of physics, mathematics, and cosmology. Despite their differences of content, manner, and spirit, these writings constitute a type. All of them are animated and variously fashioned by a common aim—that of democratizing the more austere and difficult forms of knowledge. Successful pursuit of it demands, as we have seen, the exercise of a threefold function: (1) that of explaining scientific and mathematical ideas, methods, and achievements in terms readily intelligible to talented non-specialists; (2) that of setting forth, for such men and women, the more important philosophic implications of scientific and mathematical findings; (3) that of signalizing and, in some measure, appraising the human significance of the total world-conception resulting from such findings.

It is always a pleasure to encounter excellence and I have great pleasure in being able to say that, as a specimen of scientific exposition for non-specialists, Reichenbach's *Atom and Cosmos*, concerned with physics, is a work of the highest merit. The attempt to expound for laymen the whole body of ideas essentially involved in modern physics is a very bold and arduous undertaking. For concepts and questions relating to space, time, matter, motion, energy, molecule, atom, electron, chemical and physical change, light, heat, electricity, relativity, radiation, the distinction of microcosmic and macrocosmic, quantum action, corpuscles, waves and trains thereof, existence, transformation, invariance, disintegration, natural law, statistical law, probability, should all be set forth in clear light by means of simple terms. Can the thing be done? The answer is that, without recourse to mathematical formulation, and with only a minimum of technical terms,

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never introduced without adequate explanation, Reichenbach has contrived to present all, or nearly all, of the ideas in question, with due regard to the order and manner of their genesis, growth, and development; and he has had the expository genius to do it both charmingly and in such a way as to give a talented lay reader not only a good grasp of the individual meanings of the various concepts, plus insight into the tests and evidence of their validity, but also a gratifying sense of their interrelations and of their structural significance in the majestic scientific edifice in which they are together organically embodied. That is a tremendous achievement. It is noteworthy that it would not have been possible if the author had not had, in addition to his scientific competence and expository skill, a certain deep conviction and a certain ardent desire: the conviction that, without actually "taking part in its work," a talented non-specialist can so "share in a science" as "thereby to gain an unimagined breadth of spiritual perspective"; and, correspondingly, a burning desire to give laymen such a "view of the physics of today" as will clearly reveal to them the scientific world-picture and "its central importance for the fundamental attitude of our age toward life."

A like conviction and a like desire have effectively cooperated to fashion *The Universe of Science* by Professor Levy. "Science," says he, "begins and ends with common sense. Its knowledge is democratic. It cannot remain forever the privilege of any special class."

Levy thinks it highly important to see clearly, and he endeavors to show that, if we are to understand the nature of science, to appreciate its achievements, to estimate its potentialities, and to discern its essential limitations, we must view it as a continuing cosmic phenomenon, especially as "a secular social movement," conditioned by its own origin and past, by the nature of the world it seeks to understand, and especially by the nature of mankind only recently "emerged" from the ages of "mud and slime" and not yet so far advanced, as commonly supposed, from the status and ways of "wandering savages."

Worthy of special commendation to the attention of laymen is the chapter entitled "Unpicking the Threads." Here the important terms, "isolation," "isolate," and "neutral" are introduced and carefully explained. Isolation consists in determining what parts of the environment of a thing or system of things to be studied can be safely disregarded as irrelevant to it. Thus "The first function of an ex-

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perimental inquiry is to find, if possible, how little of an environment needs to be included to render a system neutral." And we have the striking thesis that "the great adventure of science lies in the query whether there are any processes in nature that cannot be adequately explored by seeking for isolated systems neutral to their environment."

Being a professional mathematician Levy has included in his book an extensive chapter designed to explain, in terms simple enough for lay readers, the essential nature of mathematical processes and methods. Appropriating an expression made famous by Gauss in his eulogistic characterization of mathematics, Levy has entitled the chapter "The Queen of the Sciences." In Gauss's time there existed but little that might now be properly called a philosophy of mathematics or a philosophy of science. Had Gauss known, as lesser men know today, that, in respect of aim, method, and content, the enterprise of mathematics and the enterprise of natural science are separated by a chasm as deep and unbridgeable as that which sunders logical deduction from experimental observation, it is about as certain as anything can be that the great "prince of mathematicians" would not deliberately have so spoken as to imply that one of two essentially disparate enterprises could be the "Queen" of the other one. But let that pass. What cannot be permitted to pass without censure is Levy's contention that there is no "essential" difference between the method by which mathematical propositions are established and the method by which the propositions of empirical science are established.

Any book by Max Planck, famous father of quantum mechanics, is certain to be hailed with lively expectation. Nevertheless it must be said that his *Where Is Science Going?* is disappointing in some important respects. Since it neither tells nor attempts to tell whither science is going a better title would have been "Some Philosophic Questions Revived by the Crisis in Physics," for it is with such questions that the book is mainly concerned. The initial chapter does indeed give a rapid survey of the developments that have taken place in physics during the half-century from Helmholtz, Kirchhoff, Clausius, and Boltzmann to the recent work of Schroedinger, Heisenberg, Born, Dirac, and Einstein; but the chapter's content, as here presented, is hardly for laymen. The rest of the book is wholly concerned with questions belonging primarily to philosophy but not to

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science unless, contrary to the prevailing view, one regards philosophy, as I think we ought to regard it, as being itself a part of science.

The most striking feature of the type of books here under consideration is not their laudable attempt to expound scientific and mathematical ideas, methods, and discoveries for lay enlightenment but their serious concern with philosophical questions, astonishing because hardly more than a generation ago nearly all scientific and mathematical specialists disdained philosophy as barren. Yet there is scarcely a grave question—metaphysical, epistomological, logical, ethical, religious—that eminent scientists and mathematicians are not today driven or drawn to grapple with as with a matter of vital concern. Note a few specimens:

(1) Is the universe a chaos or a cosmos?

(2) What is the proper signification of the term "natural law"?

(3) Is there sufficient ground for holding that no part of the universe is exempt from an absolutely rigorous reign of law?

(4) What ground is there for affirming or for denying the universal validity of the so-called principle of causality?

(5) Does the doctrine of relativity deny, or does it imply, the existence of an absolute?

The foregoing may serve to represent the increasing host of philosophic problems that recent crises in physics and mathematics have compelled the most eminent specialists to ponder. With what results?

In human interest none of the questions surpasses the problem of causation, determinism, and free will. It is dealt with in nearly all the books of the type under consideration, in some of them extensively.

A lengthy process of dialectic leads Planck to assert that "the independence of human volition can be harmonized with the fact that we are integral parts of a universe that is subject to the rigid order of nature's laws." His astounding thesis seems to be this: We humans are, literally, parts of a world where determinism reigns universally and our wills are free! But Reichenbach asserts: "Nature is simply not completely determined."

Levy is notably more conservative. "It seems too early," says he, "to talk of detailed determinism either for the isolated system that is society or for the sub-system that is man."

Hermann Weyl, speaking of causality, tells us (in *The Open*

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World): "We must await the further development of science, perhaps for centuries, perhaps for thousands of years, before we can design a true and detailed picture of the interwoven texture of Matter, Life and Soul. *But* the old classic *determinism* of Hobbes and Laplace need *not* oppress us any longer." (The italics are mine.)

We are assured by Eddington (in *The Nature of the Physical World*) that "There is no need any longer to doubt our intuition of Free Will," by Jeans (in *The Mysterious Universe*) that "Science has no longer any unanswerable arguments to bring against our innate conviction of Free Will," and by Gilbert N. Lewis (in his *Anatomy of Science*) that "There is no basic fact of any of the exact sciences which is so abundantly proved by the evidence of our observations as this freedom of the will."

What is Einstein's view? In the *Forum*, October, 1930, he has written: "I do not believe we have any freedom at all in the philosophic sense, for we act not only under external compulsion but also by inner necessity." In like tenor he is quoted (in the last chapter of Planck's book) as saying: "Honestly I cannot understand what people mean when they talk about the freedom of the human will. . . . Indeterminism is quite an illogical concept."

Confronted by such a conflict of expert opinions what is a layman to do? One of three things: compare the "expert" arguments in the hope of deciding for himself; dismiss the problem as insoluble; suspend judgment awaiting further light.

In respect of another outstanding question our philosophizing scientists and mathematicians are as little unanimous as professional philosophers themselves. Has the external world a reality independent of thought? That "There is a real outer world which exists independently of our act of knowing" is, says Planck, "one of two theorems that form together the cardinal hinge on which the whole structure of physical science turns."

Quite similar is Levy's view. Subjective idealism of the Berkeleian type is, he asserts, "the supreme futility."

But the Bishop, were he now living, could hardly find fault either with Jeans's assertion that "The Universe can be best pictured as consisting of pure thought" or with Eddington's affirmation that "The only subject presented to me for my study is the content of my consciousness" (*The Nature of the Physical World*, p. 283).

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Showing far more insight, I think, than the foregoing are the words of Weyl (*The Open World*, p. 27): "The postulation of the real ego, of the thou, and of the world, is a metaphysical matter, not judgment, but an act of acknowledgement and belief. But this belief is after all the soul of all knowledge. It was an error of idealism to assume that the phenomena of consciousness guarantee the reality of the ego in an essentially different and somehow more certain manner than the reality of the external world; in the transition from consciousness to reality the ego, the thou, and the world rise into existence indissolubly connected and, as it were, at one stroke."

One more great question must be noted. Do not the history of thought and especially the theory of relativity together teach us that the ages-long search for *absolutes* is a vain quest? Planck's admirable chapter, "From the Relative to the Absolute," answers confidently. Viewed superficially, science seems to go from the absolute to the relative. A deeper view shows that the direction is opposite. "The concept of relativity is based on a more fundamental absolute than the erroneously assumed absolute which it supplanted." . . . "The fact is that we cannot relativize everything." For Newton and Kant, space and time were absolutes. Today these have been replaced by a new absolute, profounder and more embracing—the structure of relativity's 4-dimensional manifold of "world points." Possibly this will be replaced by an absolute yet more fundamental. And so on. May we thus hope to reach an ultimate absolute? Planck's answer is "no." Such an absolute is an unattainable ideal. But "The value of the journey is not in the journey's end but in the journey itself."

Finally, it is now the fashion for philosophizing scientists—especially for philosophizing physicists, astronomers, and cosmologists—to speak much of what they call the scientific world-picture. The picture is indeed impressive, awe-inspiring, well-nigh overwhelming. What is the spiritual significance, the psychic worth, the ultimate dignity of the world thus depicted? Among all the philosophical problems created or revived by modern science, that question is supreme both in its difficulty and in its human appeal. Scientists as such are, in strictness, under no obligation to consider it. Their sole function is to create the picture, not to assess the intrinsic worth of what it represents. But when scientists assay the rôle of philosopher the great question at once becomes theirs and they cannot honorably ignore it.

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None of the foregoing writers have ignored it but their dealings with it have been neither profound nor very fruitful. Will it be sometime assailed worthily? Perhaps. Meanwhile we may ask a question.

Assuming—what no one knows—that the universe admits of no satisfactory interpretation in terms of psychic values, and assuming —what no one knows—that our human race is, as Jeans thinks, destined to extinction in (say) a "million million" years, what can be said, even under those dreadful assumptions, towards vindicating the world as a fit abode for man? For an attempt to answer I venture to refer the reader to my *Humanism and Science*, pp. 141–5.

In view of all the foregoing considerations it seems reasonable to expect that, through increasing appreciation and cultivation of it, the humane art of democratizing the austerer forms of knowledge will more and more flourish as a potent and precious agency for mitigating the poignant tragedy of our modern culture.

Facing Old Age

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

Executive Secretary, American Association for Old Age Security

OUR nation is growing older with the passing of every year. This is not merely a truism. Our population is actually growing older, and every decade sees more old people than before. The aged represent a steadily larger proportion of our population and more and more of us live on to old age. In less than a century the average span of life has been increased by 50 per cent—from 39 years in 1840 to nearly 60 years at the present time. Whereas in 1870 there were only a little over one million persons 65 years of age and over, less than three in every hundred, there were close to seven million in the same age group in 1930—almost twice as many per hundred persons as 60 years ago. The prospect of a longer expectancy of life should be welcome news to all of us for with age comes wisdom. The sad part of this news lies in the fact that it has been paralleled with a number of developments which complicate and burden the period of old age.

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As the nation has grown older physically it has also grown bigger and more powerful industrially. As industry extends its influence over the mass of workers through large scale production, giant corporations, trusts, mergers, and chain-stores, the independent trades and professions gradually decline while the number of people dependent upon a wage or salary grows steadily larger. And as we become dependent upon a wage for our daily bread, the security of our jobs becomes our paramount concern.

The industrial development which has made life precarious at all ages has made it especially hazardous in old age. The haunting fear that his wages, for one reason or another, may be cut off, constantly hangs over the worker's head like the Sword of Damocles. But while the wage-earner is haunted from childhood to the grave by the specter of unemployment and sickness, there is no period in which these stalk closer before him than in old age.

It is the sad irony of our civilization that while the period of old age is being lengthened the years of remunerative employment are being steadily curtailed. Although more and more of us can anticipate living to a ripe old age, fewer and fewer of us can look forward to holding on to our jobs after we have reached 65 or 70 years. Since specialization has become the almost universal rule in modern industry the need for the skill and experience of the older worker has practically disappeared and as a result the period during which industrial workers can find profitable employment is constantly growing shorter. Many industries today draw the employment deadline at 40 or even 35 years, while aged workers are being eliminated from all the major industrial occupations. Examine the occupational census data for 1930. In that year 7.78 per cent of the general male population 16 years of age and over had passed their sixty-fifth birthday, but the men still working at 65 years of age and over constituted only 5.15 per cent of that male population. Whereas no less than 90.5 per cent of all males between the ages of 16 and 64 were gainfully employed in 1930, only 58.3 per cent of those who had passed their sixty-fifth year were still working.

The detailed census data show strikingly that few of those aged who are gainfully employed derive their livelihood from industrial or mechanical pursuits. Among gainfully employed farmers, 8.41 per cent had passed their sixty-fifth birthday. In the case of lawyers,

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judges, and justices, 8.85 per cent were 65 or over. Retail dealers also showed a higher than average occupational percentage for old age—6.5 per cent. For bankers, brokers, and money lenders the proportion over 65 was 5.91 per cent, while the percentage of aged manufacturers was likewise higher than the general average. But an entirely different tale is told by the statistics of industrial and mechanical pursuits and of transportation! Only 2.34 per cent of miners, 1.32 per cent of cotton mill operatives, 2.61 per cent of machinists, 2.21 per cent of store clerks, and 0.75 per cent of locomotive firemen had passed their sixty-fifth birthday.

It is now an established fact that modern American industry does not want men and women past middle age. Many of our large industrial concerns have a frank and above-board rule against hiring new workers who have passed the prime of life. A study by the National Association of Manufacturers in 1929 showed that 30 per cent of the concerns investigated—mainly the large corporations—admitted the adoption of definite age limits ranging all the way from 25 to 70, with the most frequent limits 45 years for unskilled and semi-skilled, and 50 years for skilled workers.

These difficulties have naturally become aggravated during the depression. With curtailed operation and a limitless supply of all kinds of labor the chances for an aged person to find a job have almost completely vanished. A Philadelphia survey made in April 1931, covering 67,150 employable workers, showed that 34.4 per cent of those 66 years of age and over were totally unemployed, as contrasted with 22.9 per cent among workers 26 to 55 years of age. Moreover, while the younger group of workers had on the average been unemployed for 36.2 weeks, the older workers had been out of jobs for nearly twice as long. Studies in other cities showed similar contrasts.

The difficulties of finding a job after the prime of life are not confined to manual workers. Professional and technical men are faced with the same difficulties and can no longer expect to support themselves by their own work for as long a period as their fathers and grandfathers did. A few sample advertisements during our prosperity days will serve to illustrate this tendency in several fields. A well known chain of department stores in advertising for a man who must be "a linguist, a man of continental experience, an executive of the forceful type, well able to handle people diplomatically, and a man

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who has a right to be trusted with real managerial and financial responsibilities," specified that he must be "not more than 35 to 40 years of age." An experienced assistant credit manager can find no employment because he is "nearing 40." A capable young clerk of excellent reputation was denied work because he was "too old" at the age of 32! Indeed the problem of insecurity in old age now confronts every social group. Practically all the earlier forms of security have disappeared in modern life. All the individual methods of protection have lost their ancient stability and assurance. The farmer, the professional man, the business man, and even the investor and the savings depositor no longer has the sense of security formerly his.

With farm prices far below the cost of production, agriculture or independent farming is no longer a safe haven of peace and security. The farmers' income has dropped to unbelievably low levels. In 1919 their gross income from the sale of crops, cattle, and other produce amounted to $16,000,000,000; by 1929 this had declined to $11,950,000,000; and each year thereafter registered a further decline until their total gross income for 1932 was estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture at only $5,240,000,000—a decline of 67 per cent from 1919 and of 56 per cent from 1929. On the other hand the total of farm mortgages rose from $3,320,470,000 in 1910 to no less than $12,000,000,000 in the spring of 1933.

As the number of professional people who depend for their living upon a salary from some corporation or firm is constantly mounting, the professional classes also are no longer immune from the terror of joblessness and poverty. There was a time when engineers, architects, and accountants set up independent offices and ran their own businesses. Chemists established their own laboratories, while pharmacists went into businesses of their own. But today most members of these professions have to exact their livelihood from a job with some corporation and are therefore affected adversely by every downward movement in industry and trade. Even in medicine there is an increasing tendency for young graduates to look for jobs with some established firm or agency rather than to open private offices. It is estimated that over 15,000 physicians, or about 11 per cent of all active doctors in the country (not including internes) are on a full-time salary basis. Even the heads of our large industrial corporations are insecure. No longer the owners of their businesses as their pred-

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ecessors used to be, they have become merely paid employees of their respective concerns, with the accompanying insecurity of tenure inherent in all jobs, high or low. Job agencies are overcrowded today with former high-paid executives and vice-presidents who are looking for any sort of work.

The diminishing opportunities for "going into business" are too well known to need emphasis here. By tens of thousands independent business men, small manufacturers, and merchants were forced, in the last few decades, to give up their businesses. The phenomenal growth of giant corporations has been at the expense of the smaller enterprises. Firms producing from $5,000 to $20,000 annually numbered 87,931, or 49.2 per cent, of all manufacturing establishments in 1914, but their number declined to 55,876, or to only 29.8 per cent, in 1925. On the other hand the number of undertakings producing goods valued at $1,000,000 and over, rose from 3,819 in 1914 to 10,583 in 1925. In 1910 our 200 largest corporations (excluding banking) controled 33 per cent of the total assets of all American corporations. By 1920 their control had risen to 39 per cent and by 1930 these 200 leaders owned 49 per cent of the country's corporate assets, leaving only 51 per cent to be shared by the remaining 300,000 corporations. Chain stores, hardly known a generation ago, have quadrupled in the last fifteen years. In 1930 there were in the United States a total of 7,083 chain store organizations, 321 of which were national in scope, with total sales aggregating nearly $11,000,000,000, or 22.3 per cent of the total retail business in the United States. These chains controled a total of 156,029 stores, including 61,626 food stores, 12,563 general merchandise and variety stores, 17,771 clothing stores, 31,975 automotive stores, including filling stations, 6,463 furniture and household appliance stores, 3,719 restaurants, 2,240 cigar stores, 3,227 drug stores, and 8,849 lumber and building stores.

Going into business is becoming more and more hazardous. Since the beginning of the century there have been 546,000 commercial failures involving liabilities of $10,818,000,000. Since 1919 the annual number has steadily risen, from 6,451 failures then to 31,822 in 1932. In the prosperity year of 1928, over 39 per cent of the active corporations reporting for income tax showed deficits instead of profits, while by 1930, 52 per cent of the active firms showed losses.

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Even savings deposited in banks—the reputed paragons of safety and conservatism—no longer offer an effective solution of the problem of insecurity. During the decade 1923 to 1932 there were no less than 9,883 bank suspensions throughout the country, involving deposits of $4,702,142,000. In the two years, 1930–1931, the deposits involved in bank suspensions exceeded by more than $200,000,000 the deposits of all banks which failed in the preceding 29 years of this century. In 1932, despite the enormous resources available to distressed banks through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, there were 1,453 suspensions involving deposits of $730,426,000 and following the bank holiday in March, 1933, approximately 5,000 banks failed to reopen.

The havoc caused by the present depression is illustrated by the following two facts: Between 1928 and the middle of 1932 a total of nearly 9,000,000 savings accounts were wiped out. In 1931 alone over 12,000,000 insurance policies, amounting to over $3,000,000,000, lapsed, were surrendered, or else were permitted to expire. The fortunes wiped out through investments in stocks and bonds are too vivid in our memories to need statistical elaboration.

It is as a result of the growing realization of the new problems confronting old age and the utter inadequacy of our present provisions that there has arisen a strong demand for a definite and constructive social policy towards the superannuated. As the nation grew conscious of the fact that destitution in old age could no longer be ascribed to individual carelessness or malevolence it demanded the institution of a social remedy for this social ill. It was but natural that this demand should be crystallized into the inauguration of a system of non-contributory old age pensions for those who, through no fault of their own, have become destitute and dependent. Had the United States adopted a system of contributory social insurance 50 years ago it could have built up funds to provide against the present calamities of old age. Having failed to deal with the problem until we were confronted with millions of aged dependents, we are now forced to pay the price of our long neglect. The aged poor are with us. They must be taken care of somehow and non-contributory pensions offer the only economical and humane method of helping them.

The movement for old age pensions, which dates back 25 years in the United States, has made considerable progress during the last

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ten years. Beginning with the pension system inaugurated in Montana in 1923, 27 states—Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming—and the territories of Alaska and Hawaii—have now placed old age security laws on their statute books. Eleven of the above states and the territory of Hawaii enacted their laws in 1933.

In fourteen the pensionable age is set at 70 years, thirteen pay pensions at the age of 65, North Dakota sets the age at 68 years, while in Alaska the age limit is 65 for men and 60 for women. The maximum pensions allowed are $150 per year in North Dakota; $15 a month in Hawaii and Indiana; $20 per month in Nebraska; $250 a year in Kentucky; $25 monthly in Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Ohio, and Utah; and $30 a month in Arizona, California, Colorado, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. Alaska pays $35 per month to men and $45 to women. In New Hampshire the maximum is set at $7.50 per week. The New York and Massachusetts acts set no specific maximum, leaving the matter to the discretion of the administrative officials. In several states one-third of the sums expended on pensions by the local governments is reimbursed by the state; in several others the state and the counties share the cost equally; in a few the state or territory assumes the entire cost; and in 14 the entire cost is borne by the counties. On December 31, 1932 there were a total of 100,959 persons in receipt of benefits in thirteen states, more than half of them in New York. The total expenditures in 1932 amounted to $25,095,000.

American pension experience not only refutes the dire prophecies of the opponents of old age security but actually proves that this system is less expensive to the taxpayers than other methods of relief. The predictions that these laws would be greatly abused and that every old person would seek the bounty of the state are definitely contradicted by the actual experience of states under these acts, for the number of persons who have tried, by false means, to take advantage of pension acts is negligible. Out of 1,632 applications rejected in New York City at the beginning of the law's operation, only three

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were denied because of "assignment of property to qualify for relief." The economy of the pension system is demonstrated by the fact that as against an average expenditure of over $40 monthly per capita in poorhouses, the average monthly pension in the states which paid such in 1932 amounted to only $22.35, or about half the cost of maintenance in an almshouse.

At the same time pension experience fully bears out the prediction of supporters of these laws that a self-respecting system of care in their own homes would ultimately result in considerably reducing the need for the expensive institutional care of the aged. A recent study of nine states made by the American Association for Social Security disclosed that while during the years of the depression the total almshouse population has increased greatly in every state in the Union, the increase has been very much less in the states with pension laws as compared with those without such laws. Thus, whereas Connecticut, without a pension law, witnessed during 1931–32 an increase of 32.2 per cent in its almshouse population, its more industrial neighbor, Massachusetts, which started its pension plan in the middle of 1931, had an increase of only 15.8 per cent, or less than half as great. The same general fact holds true of other states. But even more striking are the New York facts: In 1929, the year just preceding the enactment of New York's old age security system for persons of 70 years and over, the number of inmates over 70 increased by 567, or 15 per cent. Following the first two years of the operation of the law the number of inmates over 70 years of age actually dropped by 332, a decrease of 7.5 per cent. Significantly, the number of inmates under 70, and therefore ineligible for pension grants, increased during the same period by 1,837, or 29 per cent.

The present old age pension statutes have proved of inestimable benefit to tens of thousands, but they have not as yet fulfilled all the hopes of the proponents of this legislation. Most of the important states still limit the age to 70 years. While the average grants in most states cannot be criticized too harshly since they far exceed the allowances made under unemployment relief, they are of course not altogether adequate to meet the full needs of the aged. The citizenship requirement in all the laws, except in Delaware, works tremendous hardships upon those who, although residents of the United States for most of their lives, have for one reason or another not become

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formal citizens of the United States. Since this discrimination chiefly affects old women it frequently results in serious hardship, and unfortunately its removal is not yet in prospect.

But while the above restrictions can easily be remedied through amendments, there are a number of difficulties which are inherent in the very nature of these acts. The present American pension laws are of course all based on a means test. Under existing conditions a non-contributory system cannot be expected to pay pensions to all persons merely upon the attainment of a specified age regardless of their economic circumstances. These laws must of necessity set up arbitrary requirements and their application to human beings presents problems which can rarely be solved with absolute justice. Laws of this nature do not lend themselves to subtle social distinctions and it is never an easy task to decide, for instance, at what economic level, in dollars and cents, independence ends and dependence begins, or when children should be able to support their parents and when their liability should cease.

These difficulties can be overcome only through the inauguration of a system of compulsory contributory insurance similar to those now in operation in most countries abroad. Contributions should come from workers, employers, the various state governments, and the Federal government. Preferably such a plan should be tied up with invalidity and health insurance. A system of compulsory contributory old age insurance either as a separate plan, or, preferably, in combination with a comprehensive system of social insurance offers the most adequate long-range program. The contributions necessary for an actuarially sound annuity plan can be determined with almost flawless accuracy.

A contributory system of old age insurance may be justified not only on theoretical grounds but will become inevitable as the present deadline of employment continues to be lowered and more and more aged persons become unable to earn their own living. While technical and administrative problems involved in a contributory insurance plan are, because of our independent states and the greater mobility of American labor, somewhat more difficult in the United States than elsewhere, these obstacles are not insurmountable. The adoption of contributory old age pensions cannot long be delayed.

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Medicines from Toads

EDWARD PODOLSKY, M.D.

SOME medicines come from the most unusual, out-of-the-way places; some of our most useful drugs have very unusual origins. For many hundreds of years toads have been used in the medical folklore of many different peoples, and yet it is only within recent years that physicians have begun to realize that toads may furnish some rather potent and useful drugs.

The Chinese, for instance, have long used as a remedy a preparation derived from toadskins. This drug, which they call *senso*, is an impure product similar in its action to digitalis, the greatest heart remedy at our disposal today, but 50 to 100 times as powerful. The Chinese also seemed to know about another remedy derived from toadskin, adrenalin. For centuries they have used a toad poison, which they called *ch'an su*, for sinus affections, nosebleed, and pains of various sorts. Most of this medicine they obtained by pressure from the large glands located behind the eyes of the toad but they were also in the habit of introducing garlic and pepper into the animal's mouth, whereupon it would cover its body with the secretion from which they obtained their drugs.

During the fifteenth century a physician, Petrus de Abbons, wrote a very interesting book, *De Venenis*, on toad medicines, in which he definitely stated that the blood of toads was of value in the treatment of "difficulty of breathing"—one of the cardinal symptoms of heart failure. Because of the digitalis-like bodies isolated from the toad's secretion this assertion is of great interest. Other physicians also made use of the toad for medicinal purposes, and many medical books and pharmacopœiae of early date gave to the dried toad a prominent place among healing agents. The *Thesaurus Pharmakologicus* of Johannes Shroder, published in Leyden in 1672, and the *Pharmacologia* of Samuel Dale, published in London in 1692, prescribed and recommended it very highly for dropsy and for bleeding of the nose and other organs. Now, finally, we understand why it was successful in

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combating these affections. For dropsy the digitalis-like drugs proved efficacious while for bleeding the adrenalin did the work. In the famous London *Dispensatory* of 1702, edited by Dr. William Salmon, toads were highly regarded as a medicine. Toads as remedial agents were further mentioned in the *Pharmacopeia Universalis* of Dr. R. James (London, 1747); in the *English Dispensatory* of Dr. John Quincy (London, 1749); and as late as 1833, but in a skeptical manner, by Dr. J. A. Paris in his renowned *Pharmacologia.*

Toad medicines and poisons were known universally. Even primitive peoples had a thorough acquaintance with them. The natives of the Upper Amazon still make use of the skin secretions of the toad as arrow poison. They place the toad in a tube of bamboo and the tube containing the toad is suspended over a fire. Soon the toad becomes covered with a yellow juice which is allowed to drop into bowls from which it is transferred to small pots in which it gradually acquires a more viscid consistency. The poison is then smeared on the tips of arrows which are shot into animals or enemies from blowing tubes. For reasons of self-protection the toad carries these powerful remedies in his skin. When approached by an animal bent on devouring him the toad begins to secrete his adrenalin and digitalis, a taste of which usually discourages the larger animal from eating him. Should, however, the animal be too greedy and throw all caution to the winds and devour the toad, the secretions of adrenalin and digitalis-like substances from the skin prove fatal to the devourer. Shakespeare knew well the toad which "wears yet a precious jewel in his head." In the first scene of Act IV of *Macbeth* the toad is the most important of all the ingredients used in the brewing of the famous hell-broth.

> Round about the cauldron go:
> In the poisoned entrails throw.
> Toad, that under cold stone
> Days and nights has thirty one
> Sweltered venom sleeping got,
> Boil thou first i' the charméd pot.

The witch-doctors of Shakespeare's day were well acquainted with the fact that from the skin glands of the toad certain valuable medicinal agents might be extracted. Today we know scientifically why this is so—that the "precious jewel" in the head of the toad is a gland

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which yields adrenalin, ergosterol, and other important ingredients. As a matter of fact one important species of toad from Jamaica gives three times as much adrenalin as man and three times as much as any animal except cattle.

In 1911 Drs. Abel and Macht became interested in the toad as a source of medicines and began to study the dried secretion of the parotid glands of the tropical toad known as *Bufa agua*. They secured a substance which they called bufagen and which they discovered to possess some unusual properties. They found that bufagen had almost the same properties as did digitalis, the great heart remedy, that it had a marked action on the heart, increasing the tonicity of the heart muscle and the strength of the heart's contraction as well as the volume output, and that it influenced the cardio-inhibitory center and the musculature of the blood vessels most profoundly. But its action on the heart was particularly noteworthy. Small doses of this drug also caused an increased output of urine and for this reason it was valuable as a remedy in dropsy, a fact recognized and utilized by doctors many hundreds of years ago although their understanding of toad medicines was rather primitive. As the years went on other scientists became interested in medicines from toads, and within recent years Drs. Chen and Jensen with their discovery of six separate and distinct medicines in the skin of the toad have yielded some very interesting results.

Cholesterol, at present one of the most interesting of all our drugs, is widely used in children's diseases, in the form of viosterol, to promote bone growth and prevent rickets. It is also known as the precursor or parent of the very important element, vitamin D. When the cholesterol obtained from the toad is placed under ultra-violet it produces vitamin D.

The uses and the value of adrenalin are too well-known to require an extended discussion here. The toad has been found to yield a potent adrenalin comparable to any obtained from other sources. Dr. Abel more than twenty years ago was able to obtain it, in its purest form, in crystals, for the first time, from the toad. This was the active ingredient so effective against nosebleed in ancient times when the Chinese physician used the toad as a remedy for this disorder. Pharmacologists now assert that the adrenalin obtained from the toad possesses all the essential features of the hormone produced by the

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suprarenal medulla in mammals and that it is just as valuable for medicinal uses.

The medicines discussed thus far can be obtained not only from the toad but from other sources also. There are four medicines, however, derived exclusively from the toad: cinobufagen; cinobufotoxin; cinobufotenine; and suberic acid.

The first of these, cinobufagen, somewhat similar to bufagen, discovered many years ago by Abel and Macht, possesses all the important properties of the digitalis group of heart medicines. This is shown by the fact that it produces a type of heart picture, as depicted by the electrocardiogram, identical with that which digitalis produces. Just as digitalis, when taken in large quantities, produces vomiting, so does cinobufagen. It also possesses another of the most valuable characteristics of digitalis—the capacity to regulate faulty heart rhythm. Drs. Chen and Jensen found in a few cases of auricular fibrillation (disordered heart beat) in men that one milligram of cinobufagen injected intravenously caused a prompt fall of the ventricular rate (heart beat) lasting for a few hours.

The second of the digitalis-like drugs obtained from the toad, cinobufotoxin, has almost exactly the same properties as cinobufagen and may perhaps be compared most precisely to that part of digitalis known as digitoxin. It also possesses remarkable influence over disordered heart rate and rhythm.

The third digitalis-like medicine derived from the toad is cinobufotenine, which, in the form of the flavianate, has a marked pressor action—that is to say, it is capable of reducing the calibre of the blood vessels or constricting them, thus raising the blood pressure. This power to raise the blood pressure is an essential property of digitalis. Cinobufotenine also acts as a direct stimulant to the heart and stimulates the vagus nerve which also controls the heart action. Drs. Chen and Jensen have found that cinobufotenine has a cardiac stimulating value of one-tenth of that of adrenalin chloride, which is a rather powerful heart medicine—as everyone knows, since it has long been used to bring a standstill heart into renewed activity. In this light the life-saving qualities of heart medicines from the toad's skin become more apparent. Cinobufotenine is the generic name of about seven different tenines, some of which have been found to have some remarkable effects on other muscles—the property, for example, of

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increasing the tone of the isolated intestine and uterus—a fact which can be taken advantage of medically.

The last of the medicines isolated from the toad is suberic acid. This possesses properties similar to the other bufagens but it is much less active. It has been found to inhibit or decrease the contractions of the intestines and uterus and may be used to overcome spasms of these organs just as belladonna is used, but not sufficient work has been done properly to evaluate all of its medicinal properties.

Whereas adrenalin and cholesterol are found mainly in the parotid gland in back of the eye of the toad, the bufagens are also found distributed in the skin and blood, but in smaller quantities. They all seem to be chemically interrelated. When analyzed the bufagens appear to be non-nitrogenous derivatives of cholesterin. In this light it would certainly seem that the toad is capable of giving more varieties and derivatives of cholesterol than any creature known.

The strange drugs of yesteryear have a strange habit of becoming the great drugs of today. The toad as a source of medicine has been known from very early times, and for many hundreds of years has served both the mystic and rational element among healers. That it has some very real healing powers modern pharmacology has just now begun to reveal. Belladonna was another element in the Macbethan materia medica which later rose into prominence as a cardinal remedy. During the sixteenth century a London child specialist recommended crabshells and other bizarre articles as very good medicine for growing children. He was not as peculiar as one would be led to believe. He was simply supplying calcium in what was then the best way available, and his children always grew up big and strong because their calcium needs were adequately supplied, even though from strange sources. The same was true of the old Chinese doctor when he prescribed toads for nosebleeds. More fastidious remedies might have a more esthetic appeal, but they would not stop nosebleeds. Toads certainly would. And now we know why.

Many hundreds of years ago Mohammed said that there was a remedy for every ill. He was not only a great religious leader but also a preeminent therapeutic prophet, for there is certainly a drug for every ill. All we have to do is to find the drug. And we must not disdain to look everywhere, for it is obvious that even the humble toad is capable of giving us some rather powerful ones.

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How Business Leans on Government

T. SWANN HARDING

WE hear a great deal these days about the iniquity of Government competition with private enterprise. We are told that the Government should return to its classic constitutional functions and cease competing with business and industry. But there are two sides to that proposition and it is not impertinent to ask whether business and industry can today get along without the Government.

Not long ago the editor of *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, a leading organ of the American Chemical Society, remarked that the very same business men and industrialists who had previously demanded that the Government undertake practical research, in lieu of pure or fundamental research, were protesting later, when tax bills appeared, against the Government's invasion of the field of private enterprise. Yet, the editor held, industry was really responsible for this condition, because, as even business editors have recently admitted, business and industry have formed such a habit of depending abjectly upon Governmental assistance that they have compelled it to expand into what may be called unconstitutional fields, if we use "constitutional" in the archaic sense in which such critics as James M. Beck use it.

There is, for instance, a Government publication on methods of manufacturing acid-precipitated casein from skim-milk, a study undertaken by the Government because there is an increasing volume of skim-milk in dairy manufacturing plants and, unless new uses are found for this by-product, the industry faces considerable wastes. In starting to manufacture casein, moreover, many plants have tended to install good equipment but to hire cheap, incompetent help and thereby to lose money. Through this study, made in direct response to the demands of business and industry, the Government has developed information of great practical value. In this case certain Government scientists had to investigate questions which private industry was too rushed, too impatient, or too ignorant to investigate

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for itself. In order to prevent careless factories from losing money, Government workers have determined the proper precipitating temperatures, the kinds and amounts of starters and dilutions and the quantities of various acids needed, the method and proper speed of agitation when mixing, the size of curd particle obtained under varying conditions, the length of time the whey should be left in contact with the curd, and the number of washings the curd should receive—all rudimentary practical problems, yet industry depended upon Government for their solution. The Government previously did the same sort of thing for the cheese industry, wherein entirely inexperienced individuals who had no expert knowledge of cheese-making were prone to erect expensive plants in localities not producing enough milk to sustain them. It has also issued detailed instructions for milk testing practicable for proprietors of small dairies operating on a basis too small to permit the purchase of such expensive apparatus and equipment as make the testing quite automatic in the large, wealthy plants. In all these cases Government is, indirectly but surely, offering aid to our most helpless and disorganized industry, agriculture.

This is the sort of work that is criticised as nefarious competition with business. But the work either classifies as investigation enabling private enterprise to function more efficiently or as assistance rendered to smaller, less wealthy concerns which enables them to meet successfully the competition of large firms—the classic, constitutional function of Government, as arbiter, seeking to give equal opportunity to all.

When the Government publishes an elaborate bulletin on various methods of fertilizer manufacture it does so because no single industrial concern or group thereof can overcome the impetus of competitive practice sufficiently to do so. No firm manufacturing one type of fertilizer is interested in the manufacture and usage of other types; no agents of such a firm could be expected to describe alien processes objectively. Indeed fertilizer manufacturers as a group could not produce such a general publication because they do not trust each other enough to pass their information along to any agency representing the group. Only the Federal Government is considered sufficiently reliable and unbiased to effect this aid to industry. The same reasoning holds in the case of business and industrial surveys made by the Department of Commerce.

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While we hear so much shouting about the Government in business, the real question is that of whether business could today get along without the Government. For one thing business and industry constantly tend to self-injury unless the Government offers assistance. We see this not only in Senatorial investigations such as have demonstrated the arrant stupidity and dubious ethics of those in charge of our largest banks, but we discover it likewise in connection with the regulatory work of the Federal Trade Commission and the Food and Drug Administration and with certain Supreme Court decisions under the Anti-Trust laws. Further, when we hear wild talk of graft and political corruption in Government we may well ask from what great altitude of moral excellence business and industry and their blatant mouth-pieces judge the Government. For it is well to keep in mind the $90,000,000 worth of Peruvian bonds foisted upon an innocent public by National City, sold at from $91 to $96 a copy and now worth a fiftieth part of that; to remember S. W. Straus and Co., with liquid assets of $29,000 to cover "securities" it had sold to the public at a value of $380,000,000; to reflect upon the unsecured, non-interest-bearing loans made to officers of National City to the tune of $2,366,000 to enable them to cover their stock losses, and the hundred and one worthless and bankrupt enterprises so feverishly subsidized by Insull Utility Investments Inc.—with other people's money. It is well to ruminate expansively upon those paper Insull companies which, like those in *Tono-Bungay*, showed fictitious profits at the end of the year by buying their own stocks from each other and then selling them back to each other in friendly, convivial fashion. It is useful to recognize, too, that many of our most reputable corporations have for years issued annual reports which so disguised their losses that unwary investors were led to believe their companies had operated at a net profit. The Government had a deficit but at least it didn't lie about it. These are the common, ordinary, everyday technics of business and industry. We should be gratified that the Government is, by contrast, so efficient and ethical rather than shocked that it is occasionally inept or corrupt.

Moreover, if such unwise, unethical practices are to be curbed or discontinued we must look to Governmental regulation and supervision to accomplish that rather than to private enterprise, actually driven by sharp competition to resort to such practices. The suppres-

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sion, by the Federal Trade Commission in only one fiscal year, of over 20,000 false and fraudulent advertisements at something like $50 per case saved consumers millions of dollars. During the course of the investigations entailed it was found that many highly reputable and presumably ethical manufacturers habitually made exaggerated and unwarranted claims for their goods. Advertising journals protested against the Government's action as dictatorial and unjust, yet it cannot be denied that such thoughtless statements injure business by undermining consumer confidence, first in the statements themselves and later in the character and quality of all freely advertised products. Indirectly, therefore, the Federal Trade Commission serves industry well by preventing it from employing economically unsound methods. When the National Canners Association met in 1932 it thanked the Federal Government volubly for past favors and craved a continuance of such beneficence so long as this could be arranged without increasing taxes! The Federal Government has long served this industry with crop reports and quarterly surveys of canned goods in stock, and has manifested a wholesome solicitude about the quality of canned goods—a form of regulation which the Association had discovered to possess a positive pecuniary value. There was a time, twenty-five years ago or more, when canned goods were rightfully held suspect by consumers because their producers were notoriously unscrupulous. But because it drove the low quality, almost inedible products off the market and increased consumer confidence in canned fruits, meats, and vegetables, the passage of the Food and Drug law tended to increase rather than to decrease the gross business of the canners. Consequently as their business improved the canners of their own volition sought more and more stringent Government regulation. The usual short-sighted strategy of private enterprise in a competitive price economy has been replaced by something both wiser and more profitable.

But in order to perform such regulatory functions properly a modern Government must undertake scientific research. I am thinking of one Government report of work which shows that light is a very material factor in producing rancidity in such products as salad oils, mayonnaise, butter, lard, and potato chips. If such products are kept under blue, purple, blue-green, yellow, or certain kinds of reddish color filters, they quickly become rancid, but when they are

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kept under green or certain other types of red filters there is no evidence of deterioration. Naturally nonrancid food products meet legal requirements which rancid foods cannot. Very soon, no doubt, oil-bearing foods and feeds, wrapped in properly protective materials, will begin to reach the consumer. Then we shall meet with this idea in fulsome advertising while hundreds of manufacturers will perhaps seek to exploit it for profit. Yet the basic scientific discovery, destined to profit private enterprise, was made by Government scientists ("tax-eaters") who obtained a public service patent on the process in order that all who desire may use it freely.

The Government performs such services with marked efficiency. Not only does it suppress lying advertisements at a cost of $50 a case and give an elaborate meat inspection at a rate of 7 cents a head of cattle, but the few millions it expends on research, produce about $500 in profits to society per $1 expended. This does not mean that ultimate consumers always benefit from such research to the extent indicated. It means that Government research is performed with such economy and efficiency that private enterprise finds it profitable to that relative extent. And because it is planned rationally, because it concerns socially and economically important processes, and because trained, scientific specialists—not salesmen, advertising men, and business men—direct and control it, Governmental research is economical.

Obviously the public pays for all kinds of research, for the wastefulness of that done by private enterprise as well as for the efficiency and economy of Governmental laboratory work. The public stands to profit from both just to the extent that it is well-informed and makes intelligent demands. If instead of protesting ignorantly about Governmental expenditures the public would consider the graft, gross inefficiency, broad ignorance, and riotous extravagance of private enterprise, the country would be better off. It was not without reason that former Judge George W. Anderson remarked in *The Atlantic Monthly* for December 1932 that Government business is generally managed on far sounder and less wasteful lines and with less fraud and fewer serious errors in methods or policy than is private enterprise. This, of course, is so because major rascalities are far more difficult to conceal in Government organizations than in private enterprise—despite some few glaring exceptions.

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It is most disorderly and inefficient for private industry to have produced 697 competing railroads wasting tens of millions of dollars in futile advertising, in buying duplicating equipment, and in paying exorbitant salaries to over a thousand executives. Ever since 1887 the Government has had to regulate railroads for their own good, and at least has ended a hideous era of purely private business characterized by rebates, pools, stock watering, bankruptcy juggling, savage rate slashing and all the other natural accompaniments of merciless competition. Whatever order we have today in our railroad chaos was achieved by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has been compelled to investigate both the equipment and the financing of our common carriers. It was utterly unethical for private business via the National City Company to deal in the stock of the parent bank to the extent of two million shares and to market bank stock with a peak bull value of $3,200,000,000 against a book value of a mere $385,000,000; for the Corporation Securities Company of Chicago finally to announce total liabilities of more than $142,000,000, with assets of but around $13,000,000, and these all pledged to secure notes payable, except a mere $112,768.12 which was left to meet liabilities of all kinds (except secured notes) of $126,966,716.35.

After such a recital it is refreshing to read the achievements of the Government in science as recorded, for instance, in the annual reports of the Public Health Service or those of the Bureau of Standards or of Chemistry and Soils. Whatever sound ethics business does have it owes to Government; its escape from worse mires than those into which it has tumbled it likewise owes to Governmental guidance. No wonder business and industry constantly demand that Government agencies assume functions for which they feel themselves ill prepared, as is often the case with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. For Government bureaus fight losing fights to stay small. They do not grow because of ambitious bureaucrats; they grow because business and industry exercise such pressure on Congress that their growth is inevitable. Trade controversies constantly arise. The canners demand the passage of the Mapes Act, greatly increasing the work of a certain bureau, in order to establish a distinct line of demarcation between substandard and standard (but all edible) canned goods. Manufacturers of really baked beans want baked beans defined and desire to be protected by Government from competitors who do not

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bake their beans in an approved fashion. Pharmaceutical concerns make and profitably sell common chemicals formed into distinctively shaped pills marketed under distinctive trade names, but desire protection—that cannot yet be afforded legally—from other manufacturers who sell the chemical quite as pure but formed into differently shaped tablets and under other distinctive trade names. Industries constantly desire experts in Government departments to supply them with valuable scientific information or with unbiased statistical reports. Commercial associations, baffled by trade difficulties, implore Congress to pass additional legislation more stringently regulating their constituent members, or demand that new Federal bureaus be established more closely to supervise or to facilitate their activities. The Bureaus of Mines, Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Animal Industry, Chemistry and Soils, Home Economics, Dairy Industry, Agricultural Economics, and Agricultural Engineering all appeared because business needed them and persuaded Congress to create them. Undeniably private enterprise actually demands Governmental interference in business.

Yet commercial and advertising journals affect to deplore what they call Governmental extravagance, altogether forgetting the terrific waste, duplicity, and unconscionable extravagance of private enterprise. All sorts of abstract legal theories may be advanced about the proper functions of the Federal Government but we are today confronted with certain realities, largely produced by scientific progress, which the obsolete constitutional theories of reactionaries ignore. The enforcement of such a law as the Food and Drugs Act depends very specifically upon a type of scientific research which is also of value to business. If Maine blueberries habitually reach the market infested with maggots, or if apples carrying poisonous spray residue in potentially dangerous quantities regularly appear in interstate commerce, the Government must show industries how to separate the good blueberries from the bad, and how to remove the offensive spray residue from fruits and green vegetables. This was certainly not a legitimate function of the Federal Government in 1800, when the mind of Mr. Beck came to full flower, but it just as certainly is in 1934.

Again, the Government must interfere with business and industry if we are to have anything that at all resembles social planning. When

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the Supreme Court decided recently that a group of Appalachian coal companies could unite in order to market their product more economically it sought to limit wasteful competition and serve the consumer. When it failed, in another recent case, to realize that the ice manufacturing business is affected with public interest in the State of Oklahoma and permitted a new company wastefully to erect a new plant in a community already well served by a half-a-million dollar ice plant, the Court stepped backward economically. When, in a pointed dissenting opinion, certain Justices showed that various executives and officials of the American Tobacco Company had immorally helped themselves to money that should rightfully have gone to the company's stockholders, we simply catch the Government in the act of turning a searchlight upon the darker and more putrid corners of business ethics. Such interference with business by the Government is primarily undertaken for the public good, for the service of consumers. But at the very same time it aids business by compelling it to be somewhat more moral and wise than it would think of being on its own account; an improvement which ultimately turns out to be financially beneficial to business itself. Consider the bettered conditions in the power industry growing out of the Federal Trade Commission's searching investigation.

There are also numerous necessary public services which the Government must provide because private enterprise cannot produce them at a profit—such service as the Weather Bureau gives, or the Biological Survey. Repeatedly the Government has been begged, first to regulate a private enterprise, later to subsidize it, and ultimately to take it over altogether if it does not pay. Because private concerns cannot reap a return on their investment in certain enterprises essential to the public, the Government has established its Geodetic and Geological Surveys, has poured millions into improvements in our internal waterways, has operated barges on some of the improved waterways in order to supply low cost commercial carriage, has built and operated, or else subsidized, ships on "pioneer" lines that did not pay well, has invested hundreds of millions in public highways which enriched automobile manufacturers, and has provided great loans for agriculture and later for banks and railroads. It has also pieced out the glaring inadequacies of individualistic medicine by its work in the Public Health Service, and has assumed the management of the

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national forests because private industry would soon have dissipated this entire rich natural resource. In doing all of this work it performs constant research, thus adding valuable knowledge to that already available. What we should really get excited about is the custom of having the Government return a business to private enterprise after efficient Governmental management has made it economically sound.

For this pretense of efficient, sturdy, self-reliant business individualism is a myth. In so far as it is freely competitive American business is forced to adopt practices so unscrupulous that it must finally ask the Government to protect itself from itself. Moreover, in so far as the Government is directed by its permanent staff of competent, expert technical officials, whose special qualifications and progressive social ideals make them honest, professional public servants, its business prospers. But when it comes under the ignorant domination of typical financiers or business executives with their ruthlessly competitive notions and their complete indifference to broad, social obligations, graft and incompetence supervene. Expert technical direction is, however, far more typical of Government than of private enterprise because the ideal of social service rather than the price-and-profit factor is paramount in Government. Consider on the one hand the Swedish match king whose henchmen enabled American citizens to lose a quarter of a billion dollars. Remember how his "securities" were vouched for by leading bankers and investment brokers who, however, had not even taken the trouble to look into the value of the collateral upon which his stocks and bonds were issued and who permitted the only negotiable assets to be replaced with worthless paper. Then consider on the other hand certain Government scientists who handled some funds which, specifically earmarked for a certain useful social purpose, were used in a sudden emergency, far more to the public benefit, for a different purpose. What was the aftermath? Though the Government workers had really served the public effectively they all lost their jobs because of their negligence in misappropriating public money, but the perpetrators of the quarter of a billion dollar match king fraud remain unpunished for their crime. No wonder the present Administration is determined to have enacted a Pure Securities Law which should protect the public purse as the pure food law protects its health.

The country is full of advertising men, salesmen, and shady finan-

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ciers who run its industry, business, and banks. These men feel self-sufficient and claim to be economic individualists. They engage in ruthless, unethical, devil-take-the-hindmost competition. But when the slightest real difficulty confronts them they are terrified and run bleating to Father Government for aid and comfort, their rudimentary mental machinery all in passionate disarray. At the very same time they maintain the pretense of individualistic self-sufficiency and declare the Government unbusinesslike and hence incapable of doing anything efficiently. Oddly enough they have been successful in making the very public they exploit believe this inglorious myth.

But what are the facts? Rather fortunately the Government is very unbusinesslike in that its best bureaucratic organizations place technical competence and social service first in their list of virtues and is therefore superbly equipped to perform social services of inestimable value, to use science in a manner that would scarcely offend a technocrat, and to take up much of the slack in employment, thus effecting a valuable redistribution of income and at the very same time producing consumer purchasing power. More and more the Federal Government tends to become a collectivistic, public-service corporation, using socialized capital in a nonprofit way to perform services needed by the public, individually and in groups.

In these days the pretense that business is self-sufficient is shallow. The planned economic foresight of an enlightened Government should ultimately demolish that pretense for once and all. For business cannot get along without Government. Indeed, today but for the Government—via the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other such agencies—there would be little if any private enterprise in this country at all. A few years hence, when certain loans remain unpaid and the Government must foreclose on its mortgages, there may be far less private enterprise and far more Government enterprise than now. Business may as well realize this and end its futile fretting. For we face a future of wide Government expansion and, in the long run, this will be the very best thing for the general public.

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Public Opinion and the War Debts

N. D. HOUGHTON
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Arizona

IT now seems to have become clear to most informed and reasonable persons that the "war debts" due the government of the United States on the basis of the existing debt agreements are not going to be paid in full. Either these debt agreements must be drastically revised or the debtor governments will default. The President and the Congress of the United States have seldom been called upon to arrange jointly the solution of so important a problem of foreign policy or one whose proper solution has required so high a degree of intelligent and unselfish statesmanship. Nor has there often been greater need of an informed and intelligent public opinion with respect to a matter of American foreign policy. The relative weight of public opinion as a positive force affecting our foreign relations may be difficult to measure, but, as a negative force, in preventing and restricting constructive action in foreign affairs there can be little doubt of its influence.

It was well understood by the governments of the Allied Powers as well as in American government and financial circles in 1917 that the principal single contribution which could be made by the entrance of the United States into the war against Germany was the lending of large amounts of money by the American government directly to the governments of the Allies for the purchase of war supplies in the United States. The British government had already lent her allies about $4,000,000,000; the French government had lent them about $515,000,000; and all the Allied governments had practically exhausted their credit with American private investors and producers, having floated bonds and bought supplies on credit to a point where private concerns were no longer willing to risk their resources. The only other possible source of the tremendous advances of credit which were necessary for a continuance of war was seen to be the United States government. But since neutral governments are not privileged by international law to make war loans directly to belligerent govern-

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ments the only possible hope lay in the entrance of the United States into the War. And when that event occurred in April 1917 President Wilson immediately recommended to Congress "the extension to these [Allied] governments of the most liberal credits in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs."

In the First Liberty Loan Act, signed April 24, 1917, Congress authorized a bond issue of $5,000,000,000, of which $3,000,000,000 was to be lent to the governments of the countries "engaged in war with enemies of the United States." The Second Liberty Loan Act of September 24, 1917 authorized a further loan of $4,000,000,000, while subsequent acts provided for additional loans and for the sale of supplies on credit. Altogether about $10,350,000,000 was lent to twenty different governments from April 1, 1917 to November 30, 1920 of which 90 per cent was lent to Great Britain, France, and Italy. Before the Armistice about $7,077,000,000 was lent, and after the Armistice the amount was about $2,533,000,000 in cash and some $740,000,000 in supplies and relief materials, the latter going largely to France and the new countries of central and eastern Europe. And it is no secret that the cash loans of two and one-half billion dollars arranged for after the Armistice were made largely in order to assure a market for large quantities of American goods. About one-third of the total amount of credit extended to the borrowing governments was extended after the signing of the Armistice and did not help in winning the War, and of this amount nearly one-half went to France. Nearly all of this vast amount of $10,350,000,000, furthermore, was spent in the United States to purchase American goods and services at the prevailing high prices. In other words, the debtor governments did not actually borrow money at all but goods valued at extremely high prices.

When the credit was advanced, ordinary commercial notes, bearing interest at 5 per cent, were given as evidence of the loans but apparently no serious consideration was then given to the matter of the time, manner, or extent of repayment.

Whatever the situation may have been at the time the early loans were made, negotiations beginning shortly after the Armistice soon disclosed that the debtor governments expected that the final settlement of the whole question of inter-allied war debts would result in such mutual concessions as would result in payment to the United

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States of amounts distinctly less than the American Treasury hoped to receive. In February 1922 Congress authorized the establishment of a World War Debt Funding Commission to be appointed by the President and empowered it to negotiate definite funding agreements with the several debtor governments according to terms prescribed by the Act creating the Commission. These terms proved to be too rigid, but as modified agreements were reached with the debtor governments, one by one, these were approved by Congress. The original principal, $10,350,000,000, with accrued interest at 5 per cent, amounted to about $12,090,000,000. In view of the fact, however, that the interest rate on money had fallen considerably at the time of the funding the accrued interest was calculated at the rate of 4¼ per cent on the major portion of the debts. The original principal was not reduced; but the accrued interest was reduced until the total funded principal was about $11,656,000,000. This amount was to be paid in increasing annual instalments over a period of 62 years and with interest at different rates for the various countries, depending upon their estimated "capacity to pay" as gauged by the Debt Commission. Thus, the total funded principal was about $1,300,000,000 larger than the original loan, and the total amount scheduled to be paid with interest by 1987 was about $22,200,000,000. The average annual payments range from about $233,000,000 for each of the first ten years to about $414,000,000 for each of the final twelve years.

Until President Hoover proposed in June 1931 a one-year postponement of all payments on intergovernmental debts, reparations, and other obligations, because of the worldwide economic crisis, the debtor governments had managed, by the aid of German reparations payments (which, in turn had come largely from current borrowing from American private investors), to meet their semi-annual debt payments. A total of about $2,747,000,000 has been paid to the United States on these loans. But such is the power of accumulating interest that although an amount equal to more than one-fourth of the original principal has been repaid, the debt is still approximately $11,600,000,000, a sum practically equal to the original funded debt and $1,250,000,000, greater than the original loan. And, as has already been stated, the existing agreements call for the ultimate payment of a total of $22,200,000,000.

The British government's debt, which, with accumulated interest,

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originally amounted to about $4,715,000,000, was funded at $4,600,000,000 at 3.3 per cent interest. Total payments of $2,025,000,000 have been made, yet Great Britain still owes about $4,400,000,000 and by 1985 is scheduled to pay a total of $11,106,000,000. The French debt was funded at $4,025,000,000, with interest at an average rate of 1.6 per cent. Thus far $486,000,000 has been paid and the debt now stands at about $3,960,000,000. The French government is scheduled to pay by 1988 a total of $6,848,000,000. France originally borrowed about $3,340,000,000. With respect to the interest rate Italy received the most liberal treatment of all the debtor nations. The Italian debt amounted, with interest, to about $2,150,000,000 at the time of funding. It was funded at about $2,042,000,000 at an average interest rate of 0.4 per cent. Italy has paid about $113,550,000 and the debt now stands at approximately $1,994,000,000, with an ultimate total of about $2,408,000,000 to be paid by 1988.

Of the total ultimately to be paid under the existing agreements, 92 per cent is scheduled to be paid by Great Britain, France, and Italy, the British debt being 50 per cent of the total, the French, 31 per cent, and the Italian, 11 per cent. And, of the $2,747,000,000 which has actually been paid, Great Britain has paid 73 per cent; France 18 per cent; Italy, 4 per cent; and all others together have paid 5 per cent.

The first semi-annual debt payment following the Hoover moratorium was due to be paid on December 15, 1932 in the midst of the unprecedented economic depression. And, as that date approached, it became increasingly obvious that the debtor governments, having virtually terminated the German reparations payments at the Lausanne Conference in the summer of 1932, expected the government of the United States to meet that action with a readjustment of the war debts. In November 1932 the British government proposed a reconsideration and readjustment of the debt situation and requested a further postponement of payments pending such reconsideration and readjustment. A similar proposal and request came from France simultaneously. These requests for postponement of the December 15th payment were rejected by the American Secretary of State who explained that this was a matter solely in the jurisdiction of Congress which had reluctantly approved the one-year postponement the pre-

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vious year. Further and more urgent appeals by the British and French governments along with similar appeals for postponement by other debtors were all rejected and full payment of the instalment due on December 15th was demanded. The American government indicated, however, that upon payment of that instalment it would be willing, looking toward some sort of debt readjustment, to confer with the debtor governments. Of the sum of about $125,550,000 due at that time about $98,686,000 was paid by Great Britain, Italy, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, and Lithuania, each making its payment in full, while the balance was defaulted. The British government paid $95,550,000 in gold, stating, however, that this payment was "not to be regarded as a resumption of the annual payments contemplated by the existing agreement." It was explained that the payment was made "because there has not been sufficient time for discussion with regard to that agreement to take place and because the United States Government have stated that in their opinion such a payment would greatly increase the prospects of a satisfactory approach to the whole question." The payment was designated a "capital payment of which account should be taken in any final settlement."

Beginning even before his inauguration President-elect Roosevelt, with the approval of President Hoover, started unofficial negotiations looking toward possible reconsideration of the debt situation. June 15, 1933 approached, however, with no definite arrangements completed for conferences to undertake the reconsideration and the usual notes were sent to the debtor governments asking that the regular semi-annual payments be made. The British government offered to make a partial payment of $10,000,000 "as an acknowledgment of the debt pending a final settlement," and again urged that negotiations be undertaken for the purpose of reconsidering the debt question. The British payment due was $75,950,000. President Roosevelt authorized the Secretary of State to accept the partial payment and suggested that the British government open negotiations in Washington looking toward a reconsideration of the debt agreement, it being explained, however, that the final decision in the matter lay in the hands of Congress. Four other nations, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Latvia also made partial payments; the Government of Finland made its payment in full; but all others defaulted. The en-

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tire amount due on June 15th was $143,605,294. A sum valued at $11,359,592, less than 8 per cent of the amount due, was paid in silver as authorized, for this particular payment, by the Thomas Amendment to the Agricultural Relief Act passed by Congress at the Special Session of 1933.

During October and November, 1933, in an effort to reach an agreement for a final settlement of the British debt, a conference was held in Washington between representatives of the British government and representatives of the American Treasury and State Departments. But, on November 7, President Roosevelt announced that the discussions were being adjourned "until certain factors in the world situation—commercial and monetary—become clarified." And apparently no definite agreements were reached except with respect to the approaching British payment which was due on December 15.

In December 1933, the regular instalment due on the war debts was $152,952,637, making a total of $309,070,874 due, including past due payments and interest. Of this amount, only $8,898,123 was paid—less than 6 per cent of the regular instalment. On an instalment of $117,620,765 Great Britain paid $7,500,000; Italy $1,000,000 on an instalment of $2,133,906. Finland paid in full a payment of $299,623. Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, and Lithuania made small "token" payments while France, Belgium, Poland, Hungary, and Esthonia made no payments at all. And a total of about $302,000,000 of overdue payments remains unpaid.

Much of the prevailing confusion with respect to the difficulties which are being experienced in the payment of the war debts comes from the fact that people do not understand the relatively simple but fundamental economic considerations involved in the payment of international debts. The sense of the moral obligation of the debtors *to pay* is permitted to obscure the very vital question of whether it is *physically possible* for them to pay. The typical attitude of the average person is something like this: "They owe the debts. They *ought* to pay. They *shall* pay." Emotion is substituted for economic analysis.

If the debt agreements had called for repayment in goods the problem of repayment would be easy for everyone to understand. But the stipulation for payment in terms of *money* confuses the matter for the mass of the people. It seems to be assumed that all that a debtor

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government needs to do is to levy taxes and raise the necessary money. But the questions of budgeting and domestic taxation involved are a minor aspect of the problem. The real problem is that of arranging to transfer the necessary funds to the United States. Large amounts can be raised by domestic taxation to be spent within a country, but only limited amounts of money can be transferred from one country to another since the quantity of gold in any one country is so small that if used in making large and continuous payments in other lands it would soon be exhausted and the monetary system of that country endangered. The paper currency of a country can be used only in a limited way for foreign payments because it is certain to be good only when it is readily redeemable in gold or when issued in limited amounts.

Only by use of the money of other countries, or of what is known as foreign exchange, is it possible to make large payments abroad year after year. A government can use its tax money to buy from private business interests within that country, foreign exchange, which can be used to pay foreign debts. But only by selling abroad enough more goods and services than are bought from abroad to earn a sufficient balance, can private business interests in a country have available for sale the necessary foreign exchange balances, year by year. Only over short periods of a few years can foreign debt payments be made out of funds borrowed from abroad, for eventually such borrowings must also be repaid. And the people of the United States are unwilling to buy European and other foreign goods in sufficient quantities to make it physically possible for the payments to be made in the only way in which they can be made. Tariff walls have been erected to prevent the importation of goods, and the fear of the effects of large importations of foreign goods upon American business is so great that removal of these restrictions is not to be expected. Our foremost students of economic problems are agreed that there is no possible and practicable way by which the present schedule of debt payments can continue to be met.

The war debt transactions have turned out to be bad business ventures, not only because they cannot be paid as contemplated but also because their existence constitutes a serious obstacle to the resumption of normal business conditions both in the United States and in other lands. It is not possible to state exactly the extent to which the war debt

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dilemma is responsible for present economic distress, but it is conceded to be one of the principal impediments to economic recovery.

When an intelligent private business man recognises that he has become involved in a bad business deal he undertakes to make the best of it, seeking that way out which will involve the least ultimate loss. Unfortunately, this debt situation is not to be handled by a single and able business man but ultimately by 531 men and women comprising the United States Congress, and sitting in two chambers. There are plenty of able characters in the United States Congress, any one of a number of whom could be relied upon to direct the formulation of a practicable way out of this dilemma. But there are many members who are not at all qualified to grapple with the problem. And they are all subject to the influence of the inadequately informed but highly opinionated popular attitude in their own states and districts.

It is commonly accepted that those who have the responsibility for handling the debt situation for the United States have, apparently, four possible lines of action: (1) a refusal to make any sort of readjustment, thus inviting *default* or *repudiation* by the debtor governments—a course whose probable economic and political consequences are so depressing as to be repellent to all persons capable of comprehending them and endowed with emotional balance; (2) a *postponement* of all payments for a period—unsatisfactory because a definite solution must some day be found; (3) a complete *cancellation* of the debts—perhaps justified by the probable beneficial effect upon international and domestic business but generally conceded to be entirely unpalatable to the American public; and, (4) a complete readjustment and *drastic reduction* of the debts, ranging somewhere between default and cancellation.

It must be kept in mind that the problem is not simply one of national morality but is primarily one of economics. And acceptance by the debtors of a new and reduced schedule of payments will not guarantee that those payments will be made unless the amounts are small enough to be readily capable of being paid by means of quantities of goods and services great enough to provide the necessary balance over the cost of their imports yet sufficiently small to be acceptable in the United States. No new agreement which does not reduce the debts to this extent would be a final settlement; it would simply result in a recurrence of the present dilemma.

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Pioneers in American Music

HAROLD VINCENT MILLIGAN
Organist, The Riverside Church

In the heavenly world to come, when the mighty shall be cast down from their seats and the humble and meek shall be exalted, I like to think there will be a little special Paradise set aside for those artistic souls whose earthly pilgrimage was beset with such rocky pavements and such thorny obstructions that they never arrived even within sight of their goal. We shall find there those mute inglorious Miltons, those potential geniuses who never groped their way to ultimate self-expression, those flowers that wasted their sweetness on the desert air or perhaps never produced a blossom. We shall find there a large delegation of early American musicians whose very names are now known only to a few painstaking historians and whose sum of artistic achievement is so pitifully small as to be practically negligible. Chief among them will be Stephen Foster, whose oversweet melodies and kindergarten harmonies will never procure him admission into the Valhalla of the truly great. And there will be also those lonely souls whose artistic instincts and futile strivings never found a worldly audience, for there was no audience to find.

In order to understand their lives and correctly to estimate their achievements it is necessary to consider the very peculiar circumstances in which they lived. To one who has not lived in a primitive community this is difficult—hence the misunderstanding which many Europeans of the present day still have about musical conditions in America. Indeed I am inclined to think that it is impossible for any European, accustomed to a civilization and cultural background centuries old, to realize what the phrase "primitive conditions" really means. I have been in primitive communities in the far West and I know what the word "pioneer" means. I have some conception of what my forefathers experienced and just what it meant, that slow process of taming the wilderness, generation after generation pushing out to new land and new life, cutting down the trees, building the first log houses, pulling up the roots and hauling away the stones to put the first plow into the virgin soil, straining every

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nerve and every muscle for the bare necessities of life, food, shelter, warmth, and then slowly achieving a few simple comforts. In the summer when I drive my car through the Naugatuck valley, or along the Connecticut River where it winds between the green hills of New Hampshire and Vermont, and go back in imagination to those days when the rivers led from tide-water off into the unknown forest like beckoning fingers, I cannot help but speculate as to what happened to those unhappy personalities who were endowed by unkind nature with what we call "artistic temperament."

Born they certainly were. It would be idiotic to suppose that pioneer babies were all Daniel Boones. Some of them may have been Franz Schuberts or John Keatses. Suppose Claude Debussy had been born and brought up in Poker Flat or Dead Man's Gulch? Would he have written "L'Apres Midi d'un Faun"? It would be comfortable to believe that Ludwig Beethoven was born into the very center of European musical culture because that was the only place in which his musical genius could develop to its greatest, and that Johnnie Brook was born in Last Hope, Arizona, because that was jolly well good enough for him, but I cannot accept so smug a conception of this sorry world. I can't help feeling a furtive sympathy for Johnnie Brook, even if his musical achievements consist of playing the fiddle very badly and drinking more than is good for him. Suppose George Frederick Handel had been born in Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1735, had never heard an orchestra, had never known anyone who knew or cared anything at all about music, had been able to learn in a laborious lifetime only the vaguest notions of musical theory. You would say, "Then he wouldn't have been George Frederick Handel," and you are quite right. But he might have been William Billings.

We know what happened to a musical genius born in Pittsburgh in 1826. Stephen Foster's life in the middle of the nineteenth century is a sad story of tragic maladjustment. Imagination can outline only vaguely the sufferings and blind gropings of those earlier musicians whose instincts and temperaments were so largely at variance with their surroundings and the life of their times. Like Helen Keller they were cut off from contact with what to them should have been the real world, but unlike her they were left alone in their isolation. What intense and glowing devotion it required for these early American musicians to persevere amidst such unmusical and in some cases anti-

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musical surroundings! If we honor the heroism of the venturesome pioneers let us also honor the courage of those brave souls who followed the flickering gleam of an ideal they themselves but dimly understood.

In the colonial period the American musician faced not only the rigorous limitations of pioneer life but also the distinct hostility of the Puritan attitude toward the arts. This was especially true in New England, where the hatred of the arts, which was rampant in England, persisted in its most virulent form. The southern colonies, where many of the royalists, or cavaliers, settled, were less hostile to the artist. But music played a very lowly part in the Puritan scheme of things. At the time of the great revolution in England, when King Charles had to make way for the Lord Protector, the Puritans destroyed organs and music-books, dissolved church choirs, and chased musicians from the organ galleries. The fine art of the English contrapuntists was abandoned and the singing of psalm-tunes in unison was set up in its place. The Puritan, having been taught to look upon music as a frivolous thing, fashioned by the evil designs of the Tempter, naturally shrank with horror from an occupation which might bring upon his soul everlasting punishment after death. The adaptation of a few simple psalm-tunes caused him much religious scruple; in fact he would never have had any music at all in the church service (which represented community life to him) except for the fact that the Old Testament states unmistakably that the Hebrews used music and psalms in their religious worship, thus proving that the singing of psalms was agreeable to, and even commended by the Heavenly Father.

In 1673 a book was published in London entitled *Observations of a Traveller* which contained the statement that "in Boston there are no musicians by trade. A dancing-school was set up but afterwards put down and the dancing-master fined £10 (ten pounds)." A dancing school must have meant some musical instrument, possibly a spinet, but musical instruments were extremely rare in the colonies at this date. Just when the first spinets, viols, and flutes came over is not known. Examination of many inventories which have been preserved from the latter half of the seventeenth century fails to discover any record of a musical instrument. Every pot, skillet, gridiron, article of wearing apparel, chair, table, bed, bolster, pillow, silver

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spoon, pewter dish, is enumerated, but no lutes, harpsichords, or other musical instruments are mentioned.

But even the sternest of the Puritans could not entirely suppress the natural aspirations of the human heart and the "frivolous art" of music would not down. There were, of course, but few native musicians, as indeed there were but few native-born in any trade or profession. Most of these musical pioneers were Englishmen who ventured across the ocean in pursuit of fortune and who spent their lives planting the seeds of musical culture in the inhospitable soil of the New World. They were of necessity "general practitioners," playing the organ and the harpsichord, teaching these and other instruments, organizing concerts, composing and publishing music—turning their hands to any occupation of a musical nature by which a few honest dollars might be earned and their names advanced in public esteem.

Although there were a few choirs to be found in the city churches in 1750 and even earlier, they were not common in the churches until about the time of the Revolution. These choirs came into existence in those churches which adopted psalm-tune books with printed music. Members of the congregation who could read music or who were interested to learn, naturally gathered together and in some places were assigned a special place in the gallery, a custom still surviving in many churches.

As the adoption of psalm-books containing printed notes made singing-schools and choirs inevitable, so the choirs prepared the way for the introduction of organs, although the instrument did not find a welcome from the Puritan congregations at first. The representatives of the Established Church were more hospitable to music and the first instruments were to be found in them rather than in the "dissenting chapels." Since many of these early instruments were deficient in pedal notes, the bass was frequently reinforced by a cello or double bass.

The first organ used in a church service in America seems to have been the famous "Brattle organ," used in King's Chapel, Boston, in 1713. Some years previously it had been imported from England by Thomas Brattle, a wealthy Bostonian, for his own home, and on his death it was bequeathed to Brattle Square Church; but that conservative congregation rejected it with some indignation and it was thereupon, in accordance with the terms of the will, presented to King's

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Chapel. The vestry of that church next proceeded to procure from England "a sober person to play skilfully on the organs (sic) with a loud noise." The "person" thus selected was a "Mr. Price." Whether he was lacking in sobriety or in skill the records do not state, or perhaps he found it impossible to make a living in Puritanical Boston, but at any rate in the following year (1714) the vestry of King's Chapel was again called upon to bring over another "sober" organist from England. (Why did these eighteenth century congregations insist that the organist be sober?)

New York did not possess its first organ until 1727, when the Dutch Church was presented by Governor Burnet with a small imported organ. Trinity Church joined the procession in 1741 with a three-manual organ with twenty-six registers.

Meanwhile the organ had been finding its way into churches elsewhere and more organists had to be imported. After the Brattle organ the second organ to be used in church in New England appears to have been the one presented to Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, by Bishop Berkeley. This was in 1733, twenty years after the Brattle bequest and eight years before the first instrument in Trinity Church, New York. The Newport organ was for many years considered the finest instrument in America and it was noted not only for its tone but also for its beautiful case, which was of English oak, with twenty-three gilded pipes across the front, the whole surmounted by a crown supported by two mitres. In spite of the fame of the instrument it was often difficult to secure an organist, a condition which was perhaps partly due to the fact that the salary at times did not exceed one dollar a Sunday.

In 1746 the Moravian Church in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, purchased an organ and in 1752 an entertainment for Governor Hamilton in Bethlehem included organ music, with string and wind instruments. A similar musical program was given for General Washington in 1782. In his account of his travels in North America in 1780 the Marquis de Chastellux, who came to this country with the French army, referred to the organ playing of Jacob Van Vliet in Bethlehem. The Marquis told how Van Vliet performed on the organ in the Brethren's House, playing "some Voluntaries in which he introduced a great deal of harmony and progressions in the bass."

Most of the early musicians came from England, but John Henry

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Schmidt, who became organist of St. Peter's Church in Philadelphia in 1797, was announced as "organist of the great church of Schiedam, Holland." Another Dutch musician who settled in America was Peter Albrecht Von Hagen who came to Charleston, South Carolina, as "organist and director of City concerts in Rotterdam."

The European musicians who crossed the ocean to the far-away colonies during the course of the eighteenth century were not all church organists, although circumstances in the new country often forced them to musical occupations far removed from their own training or desire. Secular music, including a feeble flicker of concert life and various opera companies, eked out a precarious existence, chiefly in the "cities" of the Middle Colonies, such as Annapolis, Philadelphia, and Charleston, rather than in Puritanical New England. Doubtless these early musicians, especially those who were used to more favorable conditions in the old country, often felt inclined to give way to discouragement and despair as did John Owen Jacobi, who was at one time organist at Trinity Church, Newport. In spite of the fact that he played upon the best organ in America he wrote to a friend in England:

> The want of instruments, together with the Niggardliness of the people in this Place, and their not having a taste for Musick, render it impossible for anyone of my profession to get a competent maintenance here and the Feuds and Animosities are so great concerning their Government that a Man can take but little Satisfaction in being among them, so that it is no better than burying oneself alive.

If the musicians from Europe found the going hard, what of the native Americans who dared to venture upon a musical career with neither education nor the prestige of foreign background to build upon? In the latter half of the eighteenth century several of these courageous souls attempted the impossible.

Among them was William Billings, a tanner of Boston, who is often, though erroneously, referred to as "the first American composer." He has also been called "an American John Bunyan." In 1770, the year the first organ was permitted in a Congregational meeting-house in Providence, he published his first book, *The New England Psalm Singer*, a collection of psalm-tunes and anthems containing several of his own compositions. Billings was a quaint and

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original character, a tanner by trade, and it is said that some of his first essays in musical composition were chalked down upon pieces of hide. Later he gave up his trade and set up as a music-teacher and dealer but this venture was not successful and he died, as he had lived and many another true-hearted artist before him, in abject poverty. He was rude, uncouth, deformed, blind in one eye, untidy in the extreme, but he was an honest lover of the art of music and his enthusiasm was always at fever-heat. He knew practically nothing about harmony and counterpoint and his music is painfully crude—indeed he had little education of any kind. But it should be remembered that a good composer would have utterly failed at that period of our history. As Louis Elson truly says, Billings broke the ice which was congealing New England music, and America owes him a great debt of gratitude in spite of his thousand errors in harmony and counterpoint. For these abstruse subjects he had the greatest respect and his attempts to write canons and fugues are pathetically earnest. In publishing his second and more ambitious volume of psalm-tunes he speaks of "fuging" as follows:

> It has more than twenty times the power of the old slow tunes, each part straining for mastery and victory, the audience entertained and delighted, agitated and extremely fluctuated, sometimes declaring for one part and sometimes for another. Now the solemn bass demands attention, next the manly tenor, then the lofty counter, now the volatile treble, now here, now there, now here again! O Ecstatic! Rush on, you sons of harmony!

Billings' tunes were immensely popular during his lifetime and for some time afterwards, though none of them have survived to the present day except as historical curiosities.

After Billings, New England produced a long line of similar untrained enthusiasts whose musical productions were almost entirely in the line of hymn-tunes and so-called "anthems." One of these composers was Oliver Holden, who published and edited five volumes of hymn-tune collections. He was the composer of the tune "Coronation," still sung to the words "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name." Holden was a carpenter, a native of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who left his saws and planes to become a teacher of music. By this time there were several music-teachers in Boston, receiving fifty and seventy-five cents per lesson. On account of the scarcity of instru-

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ments the teacher generally had to lend his instrument to his pupils for practice. There was also a growing interest in musical things, a merchant in Newport advertising in 1766 "dress goods, jewelry, sewing materials, violins, window-glass and short-handled frying-pans."

Another pioneer in native music was Timothy Swan, born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1758, who became a hatter by trade but achieved no little fame as a composer although his naturally diffident nature prevented the success of a public career as a musician. Like his contemporary, William Billings, he was an eccentric. He was "a great reader and a late riser" and his neighbors said of him that he was "poor, proud, and indolent." He lived for twenty-five years in Suffield, Connecticut, and it was there that most of his music was written. During a large part of his long lifetime he was never seen without a hat and it was believed that he wore a hat to bed at night in place of the more conventional night-cap.

In Philadelphia, as in the other colonies, the musician seems to have followed the dancing master. Dancing was taught in a boarding school in Philadelphia in 1728, and in Christ Church there was an organ costing £200. In 1730 the *Pennsylvania Gazette* contained an advertisement stating that Mr. Thomas Ball taught writing, arithmetic, with the true grounds of the French language, at twenty shillings a quarter, while singing, playing on the spinet, and all kinds of needlework were taught by his sister lately arrived from London. There were operas and plays in Philadelphia at this time and we know also that all kinds of musical instruments and music books were on sale at the shop of Michael Hillegas, who was the John Wanamaker of Philadelphia of that time.

The honor of being the first native-born composer belongs not to William Billings of Boston, as was for a long time supposed, but to Francis Hopkinson of Philadelphia. Hopkinson, who was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is probably best known to students of American history as the author of "The Battle of the Kegs" and other satirical poems ridiculing the legend of the invincibility of the British army. He was one of the most versatile men of the Colonial period. By profession a lawyer, he was a member of the Constitutional Convention, first Judge of the Admiralty Court, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and otherwise distinguished in the early days of the new nation. Of Hopkinson's early years little is

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known but there is every indication that he grew up in an atmosphere of culture and refinement, and since the family was fond of music he probably did not receive the customary warnings against the evils of the frivolous art. At the age of seventeen he commenced the study of the harpsichord and was moved thereby to write an "Ode to Music." He became a proficient performer on the harpsichord and for several years was one of the leading musical lights of Philadelphia, organizing and giving concerts of chamber music to which the élite of the city subscribed. He studied organ with Joseph Bremmer, an English organist who came to Philadelphia in 1763, and on Bremmer's departure from the city succeeded him as organist of Christ Church. That his knowledge of musical literature was wide and varied may be inferred from his compositions and also from his musical library, a large part of which has been preserved by his descendants, showing that he was familiar with the work of the great masters up to his time. He made a metrical version of the Psalms of David for the Dutch Reformed Church in New York for which undertaking he received £145 which he used for a trip to England in 1756. His letters home contain numerous references to music and it is recorded among other things that he heard a performance of Handel's *Messiah.* In 1771 he wrote to a friend in England, "I wish you would send some poor devil over here to take the church organ and to teach the young misses to play Foote's Minuet and the Regimental March on the spinet. I think a tolerably good master would find encouragement."

After the close of the Revolution Hopkinson does not seem to have taken an active part in musical life, although he continued to act as patron to all the worthy musical endeavors of Philadelphia. It was after the war that he invented his improved method of quilling the harpsichord by means of cork covered with leather, an invention which attracted much attention and was adopted in Europe. There survives a long correspondence between Hopkinson and Thomas Jefferson in regard to this invention about which Jefferson was very enthusiastic. It did not prove, however, to be as epoch-making as the inventor and his friend hoped, for the harpsichord was doomed to oblivion and inside of a few years had been almost entirely superseded by the piano.

Not only was Hopkinson versatile as a man, being musician, lawyer, judge, author, and inventor, but he was also versatile as a mu-

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sician, being teacher, organist, harpsichordist, essayist, composer, and music inventor. That he was a man of wide learning is evidenced by the fact that the Hessian officers were so impressed by the character and extent of his library at Germantown that they did all in their power to protect it after it fell into their hands. Among his inventions were an improved form of candlestick and an instrument for measuring distances on the high seas. He also tried his hand at painting, being a pupil of Benjamin West. His portrait, painted by himself, hangs in the rooms of the Pennsylvania Historical Society in Philadelphia. He was a member of the first class ever graduated from the College of Philadelphia, that of 1757. His first public service was as Secretary to a conference between the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Indians in the Lehigh valley, and from this time on he was constantly in public life in one way or another.

In 1788 Hopkinson published a collection of his own compositions consisting of eight songs, which he dedicated to his friend, George Washington. There is ample evidence that one of these songs, "My Days Have Been So Wondrous Free," the composition which entitles Hopkinson to be ranked as the first native-born American composer, was composed in 1759. It was, however, not his first composition. Two years before this time the students of the Philadelphia College gave a "Masque of Alfred the Great" in the college hall, for which occasion original music was performed, and it is quite probable that the composer was Hopkinson. Words and music of another ode by Hopkinson were performed at the commencement exercises in 1761 and again in 1762.

Hopkinson's closest rival to the title of "first" is James Lyon, who graduated from Princeton in 1759. At the commencement exercises in that year an ode, set to music by him, was sung, the chorus being,

"We sing great George upon the throne,
And Amherst, brave in arms."

This ode is one of the earliest American compositions but unfortunately the music is not extant. It is also probable that Lyon composed music for a drama given at the Princeton commencement in 1762. Lyon became a Presbyterian minister and went to Nova Scotia but he was unable to support himself and his family in that remote and thinly-settled district and in 1772 he moved to Machias, Maine,

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where he preached the gospel until his death in 1794. In 1762, eight years before the publication of Billings' *New England Psalmsinger*, he published a collection of psalm-tunes called *Urania*, the first book to contain original musical compositions. A new edition in 1767 indicates that it was a success, while still another edition was published in New York in 1773. An indication of the discouraging conditions confronting the composer of the day is to be found in the fact that the first edition amounted to 199 copies in all. There are seventy tunes and twenty-six so-called "anthems" in the volume, none of them bearing the composer's name. The tunes are in plain choral style, while some of the anthems contain an attempt at "fuging." Just how many tunes are by James Lyon is uncertain—probably six, including three of the "anthems." In commenting on this work, Oscar Sonneck, the leader in research into musical conditions of this period, says:

> Lyon had no great originality, but he had an inborn talent, for nobody will attempt to compose in a musical wilderness, no matter how valueless the resulting musical composition may be, unless he is forced to do so by latent creative genius. What might men like Lyon and Hopkinson have done if educated in France, Germany, or England? It is not the absolute, but the relative value of their music that demands attention. Their glory is that of the musical pioneer.

Another of these shadowy and far-away musical lights is that of John Anthes, born in 1740 in Fredericktrop, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, where the Moravians had a preaching station. Although he was apprenticed to a wheelwright in Bethlehem he devoted most of his time to the study of music and learned to play on all the stringed instruments. The musical library at Bethlehem is said to contain fourteen of his compositions. Anthes was sent as a missionary to Egypt where he fell into the hands of the Turks who punished him for his religious activities with the bastinado, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. While lying ill in that distant country he amused himself by composing string-quartets. When convalescent he returned to Europe and in Vienna met Haydn who with other musicians is said to have performed some of his compositions.

Another native composer was Peter Albrecht von Hagen, born in 1781, probably in Charleston, South Carolina, where his father was organist. The von Hagens, like the Bachs, were a musical family,

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producing composers and performers in each generation. The von Hagens later moved to New York and in 1789 the name of P. A. von Hagen, Jr., appears on a concert program as a pianist, he being at that time eight years old. In 1796 the family moved to Boston, where he continued his career as virtuoso and teacher. In 1797 Peter Albrecht opened a "Musical Magazine and Warranted Pianoforte Warehouse" at 62 Newbury Street and two years later he embarked on a supplementary career as music publisher. It is presumable that he received his musical education from his father, probably a superior one for the day and place, for Peter Albrecht's compositions are distinctly above the average.

Hopkinson and von Hagen produced music more nearly comparable in quality to that of their European contemporaries than any other of the early American composers. They were not so closely under the influence of Puritan hymnody and their best work is found in a number of secular songs for solo voice, some of which require little editing for present-day use.

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinary expansion and development of materialistic civilization and the beginnings of cultural life, but the energies of the young nation were still consumed by the demands of practical affairs, and the arts lagged far behind. Our pioneer forebears were concerned with the founding and maintenance of schools and colleges in each new community and they were in most cases not unmindful of the esthetic side of life, but this still remained pretty largely *terra incognita* to them. The musical culture of Europe was something of which they had heard and which they regarded with a wistful combination of admiration and contempt, but the real business of life to them consisted of farming, manufacturing, and trading. Certain other pursuits requiring more or less cultivation of the mind, such as law (and its corollary "politics"), medicine, and the sciences, contributing as they do toward material prosperity and well-being, were also held in esteem. Any adult male human being who could not or would not make himself of value to the community in any of these occupations was worse than useless. Music, water-color painting, and embroidery were pleasing accomplishments for young ladies whose social position warranted their indulgence in such unproductive pastimes.

But musical talent continued to get itself born here and there and

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the result was sometimes ludicrous and always pathetic. When we examine the music of these "pre-historic" composers we cannot but smile at their pompous emptiness. Hardly a page of their printed works is worthy the paper and ink and yet there is something heroic in their failures. Musical education was still in the most primitive stage and it is not until after the Civil War that we find young musicians turning to Europe for training.

The native musicians during the first half of the century doubtless faced conditions somewhat less antagonistic than their forerunners in colonial days but they were still far from the promised land. The leading light among these American pioneers was undoubtedly Lowell Mason (1792–1872), who was fortunate in that his natural bent toward hymnody and choral music of a simple character did not run counter to the taste of his day. He achieved a degree of fame and fortune far beyond that of any other American musician up to his own time, and many of his hymns are still sung. Not to be overlooked even in a hasty summary of the period is William Henry Fry (1813–1864), who wrote the first native grand opera to be publicly performed, the historic *Leonora* which was produced in Philadelphia in 1845. Ten years later the second native opera was brought out in New York, this time with an American subject, George F. Bristow's *Rip van Winkle*, an operatic version of Irving's tale. Bristow also manufactured some symphonic works which were performed by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. These men and others have their place in history, but the most interesting and in many ways the most significant figure of the period is Stephen Foster, whose simple folk-songs have achieved a measure of "immortality" which places their composer's name at the very top of the list of native music-makers.

The story of Stephen Foster's life is well-known and his career is a good example of what happens when a musical talent is placed in an unmusical environment. His story is not the oft-told tale of a struggle between genius and poverty, for the Foster family was a prominent one in its time and place, but it is rather that of a talent which, because of lack of incentive, never came to fruition. Born in the pioneer town of Pittsburgh on July 4th, 1826, Stephen evinced as a child what his father referred to as "a strange talent for Musick," and strange it remained to his uncomprehending family until the bitter end. Without musical training or experience, he stumbled al-

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most by chance upon popular approval for his simple songs. The public which sang and applauded his first negro minstrel ditties encouraged him to embark upon song-writing as a career and for a number of years he continued to turn out popular songs by the dozen, with now and then a real gem—such as "My Old Kentucky Home," "The Old Folks At Home," "Old Black Joe," and "Nelly Was a Lady"—among the baubles. The amount of musical culture to be found in Pittsburgh during the formative years of Stephen's boyhood was negligible. Pianos and other musical instruments were extremely rare west of the Alleghany Mountains in the 1830's and it is doubtful that he heard much music of any kind during these early years. There is no evidence that he ever attempted to overcome the deficiencies of his early musical education. On the contrary he was either content with his achievements or, feeling that the struggle was hopeless, lacked the courage to begin it. At the end of his life, in 1864, he was, as a composer, just about where he had been at the beginning of his career. As far as his original inspiration took him he could go, but no farther. He could not develop a melody or vary his harmony and any species of counterpoint was Greek to him. And yet when his inspiration is of so pure and exalted a nature as it is in "My Old Kentucky Home" or "The Old Folks At Home" the very limitations of his power become virtues, resulting in a simplicity and directness of utterance which no amount of erudition and sophistication could have equalled.

It would be futile to compare him with any of the great men of music. The circumstances of his life, the environments of his mind, were so totally different from those surrounding any of the acknowledged masters that speculation of this kind is futile. He bears some slight resemblance to Schubert. Who can say what the sum total of Franz Schubert's achievements might have been if he had been born in Pittsburgh in 1826?

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Editorial

Adam Leroy Jones

All friends of the American college must feel a tremendous loss in the death of Dr. Adam Leroy Jones. For many years he exerted a quiet but profound influence upon the development of high standards in our colleges and universities. His long service as director of admissions at Columbia University and as a member of college accrediting committees of his regional association of colleges, of the Association of American Universities, and of Phi Beta Kappa gave him not only a profound knowledge of our institutions of higher learning but a continuous opportunity for encouraging improvement.

These positions of great trust brought frequently the unpleasant necessity of saying no to individuals and institutions seeking recognition. Dr. Jones had an ideal personality for that task. He was obliged to disappoint often but he never offended. He disproved the maxim that one who makes no enemies accomplishes little. Dr. Jones' unfailing kindliness and unhurried cordiality helped, of course, but the real secret of his remarkable facility in winning friendship lay in his unmistakable desire to be accurate and helpful. When his mind began to evaluate data or even personal relationships, one felt at once that all prejudice, propaganda, and personal pressure were as though they did not exist.

Dr. Jones was always easy to approach. There was no crust to penetrate, no barrier of reserve, but an open personality which invited immediate trust and intimacy. When he could understandably have been sparing of his time he was generous. He laid himself open to affection, not only on the part of his family, Mrs. Jones and their three sons, but of friends and acquaintances.

Dr. Jones served on several important Phi Beta Kappa committees —and came to meetings with agenda thought through. He was a member of the Editorial Board of The American Scholar from the beginning, and was recently elected to the Senate, the society's position of greatest responsibility and honor.

Although Dr. Jones accomplished a tremendous amount of work without seeming hurried, he had time for his home and for the Adirondacks. It was an inspiration to be with him in either. In fact, he always inspired those in his presence to be more genuine, more kindly, and to work or play calmly but effectively.

William Allison Shimer.

. . .

Ph.D.'s for Preachers and Politicians

At Harvard an inscription still stands to remind the successive generations that the College was founded to save this land from an illiterate ministry. Today this should be the task of the universities. If they do not soon recognize their prerogative and opportunity the country will see a further dissipation of its finest forces in such duplications as now

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exist in many strangely so-called Schools of Education. Theological Seminaries, too, are beginning to offer substitutes for college work, essaying to teach philosophy, psychology, sociology, and even economics and political theory. Of course it will be Christian or Jewish sociology and economics. And that, more than economy, is the reason why the guides of the people should get such knowledge from the universities—where the ideal is scientific or *true* sociology and economics. I should not imply that such teaching in any given Seminary is not true, but rather that the science is developed and taught under the constant watchfulness of a particular and jealous theology.

Would it not be feasible for a good university to grant a doctorate for capable work and a thesis done, not in a single department as is now the usual requirement but in several departments? Essentially this is a plan long urged by Dr. Stanton Coit of London, over 50 years ago of Ohio. Of course, as an indispensable foundation this assumes a thorough bachelor course in the liberal arts and sciences. Persons looking forward to, or already entered upon, some career of general public leadership, such as in politics, government, the church, youths' organizations, social work, industrial problems, municipal management, and adult education will frequently feel a need for further knowledge in several fields. These are likely to include language, sociology, economics, political science, history, psychology, philosophy; the history, philosophy, and psychology of religion; ethics; and the Bible. Some would add church management and similar courses but anyone intelligent enough to be set over the minds and souls of men can get that from a good book or two—or common sense. The same should be said about scores of so-called courses in education and, to a less degree, courses in any field you choose.

Ministers trained under this plan would be most able to cope with the modern world of problems, many of them too broad for specialists. The denominational seminaries should, perhaps, take these students for a year or two and equip them with their respective theologies and techniques; appraise their powers of leadership and qualities of personality; and test their appreciation of the good, the true, the beautiful, the universal, and their capacity for worship. Such men and women will have hearts but also minds, and will challenge the modern community, including business and professional men and college youth, and lead it forward.

Leaders of young folk, of labor, and of cities and states will find themselves no less respected or effective for some sound advanced knowledge in the fields touched by their tasks. Then fewer preachers, politicians, and other wielders of the minds and souls of men, women, and children would depend on oratory and the slapping of backs — emotional encouragement for a following flock. But being intelligent themselves they would help raise up in the land an intelligent, cooperative citizenry. Awaiting that day are problems legion—individual, family, community, national, world-wide problems demanding intelligent solution.

William Allison Shimer.

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Are the Schools Worth Their Keep?

ROBERT W. FREDERICK

Assistant Professor of Education, New York State College for Teachers

BEFORE tackling our main question it may be in order to remind ourselves of some pertinent facts. In 1924 the total value of America's school property, excluding public and private higher institutions, was $6,500,000,000; there were 263,204 school buildings; 919,000—almost a million—teachers; and 27,000,000 pupils. Approximately two persons out of every seven are in some capacity either pupil, teacher, or administrator engaged in school work. Between 1890 and 1924 the total population of the United States increased 79 per cent. The elementary school enrolment during the same period increased 156 per cent, normal school enrolment 606 per cent, college and university enrolment 352 per cent, and high school enrolment 2,465 per cent. Also in the same period more than a month, 33 days, was added to the school year. Between 1912 and 1924 membership in Parent-Teachers Associations increased from 31,000 to 964,000. The total per capita cost of the public schools rose from $2.84 in 1900 to $17.15 in 1925.

It is high time that a serious attempt be made to evaluate the social value of this large and rapidly growing phase of our social and political life. On all sides there is rumor of retrenchment. A deliberate and dispassionate attempt must be made to demonstrate to alert taxpayers and economy leagues the validity of the educator's plea for higher and more universal education. The fact that education is not a racket must be established.

To prove in any but an emotional and sentimental way that good schools yield a full measure of social good is extremely difficult. Educators have dodged the issue behind "the complexity of social forces," the hope that "time will tell," the question "Would you like to live where there are no schools?" Such generalities and evasions will no longer suffice. Neither will improvement in the three R's as revealed by achievement tests meet the need for education for literacy is not in question. The real issue beneath the popular joke regarding the worthlessness of high school and college graduates must be openly met.

Civilization is advanced by twin forces, discovery and dissemination. Progress is dependent in the first instance on the development of new ideas, the discovery of more efficient treatment of disease, faster means of communication, better ways of governing, more effective means of teaching. The world owes its present state of advancement to the creative think-

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ers of the past, Aristotle, Archimedes, Galileo, Pasteur, Darwin, Hertz, Watts, Newton, and a host of others who through their discoveries and inventions have brought our present civilization into being. The second essential to progress is the wide dissemination and universal use of the instruments the few have made available.

Little evidence is needed to prove that the high schools are a valuable means whereby useful information and instruments are passed on to the masses. It may take a long time, but eventually the major contributions to human knowledge are incorporated in our high school and college courses of study. There is no doubt that not all of the world's best thoughts are introduced to our students and that the adaptation of our program to latest developments might well be hastened. The forces of inertia, veneration of the old, fear of the new, and vested interests, especially in the less objective fields of government, religion, and social life, retard the general dissemination of useful knowledge. In the main, however, the schools put the results of creative thinking at the disposal of increasing numbers of men.

There are available several studies pointing to the accuracy of the assumption that education is necessary for the production of leaders. Cattell has shown that Massachusetts produces four times as many men of science as Mississippi, a vast difference in productivity which is to be credited not to any superiority in the stock of men and women in New England but much more logically to the superiority of the school system in Massachusetts, now and throughout its history. This conclusion is supported by a study of famous Frenchmen made by Odin. He found that of the men of genius studied, 80 per cent were born or lived a great part of their life in large centers of population, that 90 per cent were financially independent, and that 98 per cent received a liberal education in childhood. Only sixteen of 827 men were self taught. To say that the school finds men of genius and gives them to society brings into the issue the theory that genius is largely a matter of hereditary power. The intellectual giant might well become the leader of his local trade union without formal schooling, but his chance of making a positive contribution to the store of human knowledge is obviously much reduced by the lack of the tools of thought and the stimulation of his kind. Higher education not only aids in the discovery and training of creative thinkers but provides also a favorable *milieu* in which they may work. The experience of Imperial Russia, Germany, Spain and Ancient Rome has established the fact that no nation can long endure which scintillates at the top with learning and culture while the great masses are steeped in ignorance.

The case for the school versus the public might well rest on Todd's statement that "Education puts the results and tools of science at the disposal of a constantly increasing number of men; which means that latent stores of human ability are more easily unlocked and that the area from which genius is recruited is constantly widening."

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We cannot in this sorely needful age trust to a fickle fortune to discover and develop the men who are to contribute positive knowledge to the world. Genius may be inherited but there is no guarantee that the wise father will produce the wise son. The juggling of the genes in human heredity is too uncertain a mixture. When it is recalled, as Conklin does for us, "that Shakespeare was the son of a bankrupt butcher and an ignorant woman who could not write her name; that Beethoven's mother was a consumptive, the daughter of a cook, and his father a confirmed drunkard; that Faraday, perhaps the greatest scientific discoverer of any age, was born in a stable; that the great Pasteur was the son of a tanner" it is apparent that we must not stop short of educating *all* lest unhappily some one or two or three capable men be lost in the general blackness.

The answer to our question may be approached from a more objective angle. If good schools pay, then we should expect a country or a state having excellent schools to reap general culture, intellectual leadership, moral and economic efficiency. We should expect the state having a poor or weak educational system to pay the price of her neglect in lawlessness, economic loss, lack of general culture. A check of this proposition depends of course upon the possibility of securing adequate measures of educational and social, cultural and economic factors. That both of these tasks are difficult if not impossible is evident. The fundamental character of the question under discussion makes, however, even an incomplete attempt worth while.

Bagley in his *Determinism in Education* summarizes some educational and social facts from several states. His figures may be supplemented by reference to the statistical Bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education, and the *World Almanac*.

In Missouri the following facts are found to be true:

Two widely separate writers give it an educational ranking of from 27th to 33d. Bagley gives it an educational rank of 30th in 1910, 29th in 1900, 34th in 1890, and 35th in 1880; according to the Bureau of Education Bulletins it ranked 24th in 1924–25 in the ratio of the number of children enroled in school to the total population between 5 and 17 years of age; 30th in the average number of days which schools were in session in 1919–20; 24th in the average annual salaries of teachers and principals in 1924–25; 29th in the average value of school property per pupil enroled in 1924–25; 29th in the per cent of total school enrolment in high school; and 37th in expenditures for higher education per each $100,000 of wealth. The average of these education rankings is roughly 30.

Each element considered gives this state an educational ranking well down in the lower half of the states. If the proposition is true that good schools pay, we should expect Missouri to rank approximately 30 in cultural, economic, and social matters. Bagley reports the following rankings for Missouri:

In per capita circulation of widely read magazines, 32d; in per capita circulation of "high brow" magazines, 31st; as the birth state of men

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listed in *Who's Who*, in 1924–25, 33d; ranked inversely with respect to the number of men born in the state who were committed to the three federal prisons during the first six months of 1923 and proportionally to population, 40th; in the infrequency of murders in proportion to population, 25th; in per capita income, 30th; and in the ratio of savings to income, 29th.

When these rankings are combined as were the educational items, Missouri has an average total rank of 31. She seems, then, to be standing in these social, economic, moral, and cultural matters exactly where she should stand according to her ranking in education. In other words the proposition that good schools pay seems to hold true for this state.

If this procedure is applied to a group of states and if more elements are included, the relationship continues to hold. Consider the average rankings for thirteen widely separate and different states given below.

	RANK IN SOCIAL EFFICIENCY	RANK IN EDUCATIONAL EFFICIENCY	DIFFERENCE
Missouri	8	8	0
Montana	7	6	1
Nebraska	5	7	2
Nevada	5	5	0
New Hampshire	3	6	3
New Jersey	5	5	0
New Mexico	10	9	1
New York	5	4	1
North Carolina	9	9	0
North Dakota	7	7	0
Massachusetts	3	4	1
Michigan	6	4	2
South Carolina	10	11	1

Note that in the case of five states the average ranking attained is the same in both fields and that in the case of five other states the difference is only one. This leaves only three states which differ by more than one place. In no case is this difference more than three. The same close relationship, as measured by rank, between social and educational efficiency holds when as many as thirteen states are considered and the number of elements used in computing the rankings is increased. The proposition that good schools pay in social stability holds, then, not only for one state but for thirteen selected at random. Social efficiency and educational efficiency go together.

The details of this second comparison within a group of thirteen states may be strengthened by examining one of the thirteen states in detail. Consider New York which received the following ranks in social efficiency items.

Median score on Army Intelligence test	7
Per capita circulation of 10 widely read magazines	7
Per capita circulation of 13 "high brow" magazines	4
Birth state of men listed in *Who's Who* 1924–25	4
Birth state of persons committed to three federal prisons (inverse)	7
Infrequency of murders 1919–1920–1921	5
Infrequency of infectious venereal disease, drafted men	3
Per capita income 1919	1
Per capita savings to per capita income	3
Number of prisoners per each 100,000 population 1928 (inverse)	6
Per capita expenditures for each adult prisoner 1928	5
Infrequency of *white* lynchings 1889 to 1930	4
Birth rate 1930 (inverse)	5
Death rate 1930 (inverse)	8

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Male expectancy of life at birth 1920 census	2
Alcoholism death rate per 100,000 population (inverse) 1912	5
1930	10
Ratio of telephones to population 1932	1
Ratio number motor vehicles to population 1931	9
Average rank	5+

New York ranked as follows in the educational items when compared with the other twelve states.

Percentage of state income devoted to public schools and colleges	10
Percentage school property is of state wealth	4
Percentage of literacy of native born population	6
Value of public school property per child enroled 1930	1
Average annual salary of teachers and principals 1927–28	1
Percentage of pupils, ages 14–17, remaining in school	5
Relative amount of school attendence, ages 7–16, 1927–28	3
School ranking for—	
1880	3
1890	2
1900	7
1910	2
1920	6
Percentage of school term utilized by enroled pupils 1930	6
Average number of days attended by each pupil enroled 1920	3
Ratio of number of pupils per teachers 1920 (inverse)	11
School debt per pupil 1930	4
Productive funds of universities, colleges, preparatory schools, 1929	2
Volumes in Libraries 1929	1
Average rank	4+

In only 7 of the twenty elements of social efficiency and in only 4 of the eighteen separate measures of educational excellency does New York fall in the bottom half of the states considered. This state then, by a different method of computation and on an extended list of items, ranks where it should as did Missouri if the schools are worth their keep.

Which set of facts is cause and which effect might of course be strongly debated. It is entirely possible that because of its poor educational facilities Missouri makes its poor showing in extent of reading. It may be equally true or possible that schools are weak because of the lack of reading. There may also be extraneous factors operating. The proportion of urban and rural population, the climate, the percentage of foreign born and of negroes in the state, the age of the state, the intelligence of the population, and similar items may have considerable effect. It is possible of course to "allow" for these factors by application of partial correlation formulæ. But such statistical procedure is not warranted, for, as Dr. Chapman used to say, "we are apt to strain at a statistical gnat and swallow a source error camel."

Isolated facts may be called into play to help out in this dilemma, as, for example, Bagley's statement that the murder rate among negroes has been on the decline during the last ten years whereas the rate for the white population has been increasing. But to enter that field is to complicate the problem hopelessly. The facts as they now stand must for the present suffice. Further and more careful study repeated at frequent intervals will be necessary before a final answer can be given. We can, however, with considerable confidence draw the conclusion that in the case of at least thirteen states a people cannot rise above its educational system in matters of social, economic, and cultural

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concern. As in the case of eggs and love, when there is a doubt there is no doubt. Thus as long as there is a question the safe policy is to give heed to educational needs, for the schools are worth their keep.

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A Russian Summer School

EUNICE LISOWSKI

THE Institute of International Education announces the establishment of the Anglo-American Institute of the First Moscow University. Its purpose is two-fold: to provide foreign visitors to the Soviet Union with adequate academic facilities for serious research and study, and to publish material on Soviet educational, social, and cultural movements for the information and use of educators and students in all English-speaking countries.

One of the important activities of the Anglo-American Institute scheduled for 1934 is a summer school running from July 15th to August 26th for English and American teachers and students. The courses will be given in English by a faculty of Soviet professors; and it will be possible to arrange for university credit. The courses of study are as follows: Comparative Art and Literature in the Soviet Union; Elementary Education in the Soviet Union; Secondary and Higher Education in the Soviet Union; Institutional Changes in the Soviet Union; Social Backgrounds of Communist Society; Crime and Punishment in the Soviet Union; Political Economics of the Construction Period; Psychological Research in the Soviet Union; and Advanced Russian for Foreigners.

Dormitory accommodations for summer students will be provided at a low cost. Transportation expenses and tuition fees, also, have been so reduced that the average cost of attendance at the Moscow summer school will not be greater than that of any other European summer school.

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Correspondence of President Cleveland and Melville W. Fuller, Chief Justice after 1888[1]

Grover Cleveland to Melville W. Fuller, Washington, July 19, 1886

THE late rejection of Mr. Goode's nomination for the office of Solicitor-General obliges me to settle as soon as possible upon another person for the place. The importance of the position and some peculiar circumstances that have surrounded the Attorney-General's office and Mr. Goode, impress me so much that I have had the subject forced upon me with very great seriousness.

Candidates are already presented by partial friends; but I have my own ideas which preclude the consideration of any of them. I want *you*. Will you come and help us out?

I have dampened the zeal of some who have candidates by intimating that I preferred to appoint a man I

[1] These letters are printed by courtesy of Mrs. Hugh Wallace, daughter of Chief Justice Fuller, who owns the originals, Mrs. Frances F. Cleveland Preston, and Mr. Allan Nevins, who furnished the copies.

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know and a Northern man. This seems to me important at just this juncture. Your location is first-rate and in my opinion everything combines to make the appointment *pretty nearly the thing*.

The salary is $7,000—the office is quite an independent one, as you will see by looking at the law. You've got money enough (you don't want too much) and you've got a lot of old Snags on hand in your profession, that it would be a comfort to turn your back on and forget. Then you know you owe something to the Administration—that is, you are its staunch friend and should feel particularly inclined to it.

I am very desirous to have this matter settled very soon and want the appointee to be prepared to enter upon his duties at once. Will you immediately upon the receipt of this send me a dispatch by telegraph informing me that I may send your name to the Senate?

This is a very unofficial letter; but I have the subject matter very much at heart.

To Melville W. Fuller, New York, April 16, 1890

It was very kind of you to give me the exceedingly welcome assurance that our friend Lamar had done himself credit in the Nagle case; and by giving me that assurance you have demonstrated again your perfect knowledge of the way to please me. It must have taken a little backbone —speaking after the manner of men in view of the modern standards of courage.

Mr. Choate asked me to look over his brief, though I told him I was instinctively against him. After reading it, I said to him that if there was anything in his position it grew out of the fact that the Judge on his way to hold an appointed term of Court was under Federal protection under the same theory as when actually holding Court. I am very submissive to your Court, but I don't believe in that doctrine either. I don't think it would be wholesome to establish in this country a doctrine of high treason (as assault on a Judge) as distinguished from petit treason (or an ordinary assault). I have not seen either opinion and only a brief summary of Justice Miller's.

The Chicago business still hangs fire, but I expect Phelps here this week, and shall confer with him on the subject.

I hardly think I shall visit your Court this term, though I have written my associates in New Orleans that we must keep on our watch. Semmes is exceedingly anxious to know the prospects for reason but I have only written to him tonight that I had heard that you were likely to get on as far as 330 to 340. This would take us in (329).

Please give my best to Lamar, with heartfelt congratulations. Mrs. Cleveland sends her love to both you and Mrs. Fuller, in which I most heartily join.

To Melville W. Fuller, New York, March 10, 1891

I am perfectly certain that it is not, in any aspect, wise for me to go away from home and make speeches; and that at home my speechmaking should be reduced to the minimum. Thoroughly convinced of this, the

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hardest work I have and the most acute distress I suffer, arise from the importunities I am constantly subjected to in applications to visit dear good friends and be entertained in a public way and make speeches. I will confess, however, that I hoped to be able to comply, under the pretext of a fishing excursion, with the request of our friends of the Iroquois Club to meet them in May next. Since I gave Ewing and Haynes and the other gentlemen I saw on the subject a slight intimation that I might meet their wishes, the Buffalo people have broken out with an urgent invitation, and today Mr. Johnson appears representing the Press Club and insisting with the greatest pertinacity that I must address his Club during my stay in your city.

I have quite lately declined two urgent invitations to go to Kentucky and one to go to Indiana, to say nothing of a number of others less prominent. I *must* in some way be relieved from these things. I have made all the speeches I ought to for the present. Every time I yield my judgment and go, the floodgates open. Between the many importunities to go away from home and the applications to attend all manner of things here, and at the same time attempting to see the good people who call on me and answering the letters of those who write to me, while necessity obliges me to make an effort to do something in my profession, I am sorely perplexed.

There are some things I cannot explain to all who press upon me these invitations, but I feel that perhaps I ought to impart them to you. At any rate it will be a relief to do so. You must not misconstrue my frankness. In my condition, every public effort requires careful and studious preparation. This brings with it much hard work. I cannot afford to do less than the very best I can. With every possible care there is no guarantee against mistakes and accidents. Too frequent appearances before the people may tend to the weakening of my power for usefulness, and the loosening of my hold on the lines which guide public thought. Don't laugh at this, for I do not write it with a personal aspiration in my mind. No one knows better than you that in our party the greatest care is necessary on the part of somebody to be in condition to assist in dispelling errors and keeping the ranks steady. I am praying daily more and more fervently that the rest of my days may be unofficial, but there are things to be presented and things to be prevented. In these circumstances am I wrong in supposing that if there is any means of good in me it will best be displayed and exercised by waiting for the somewhat rare occasions when speech or action will *tell?* I am so clear that the Chicago trip had better be entirely abandoned that if you agree with me, I want you to help me settle the matter in the negative with as much consideration for the good friends who I believe will be really disappointed, as is possible. I wrote to Mr. Ewing last night that in view of the Press Club invitation, which he seemed to encourage, and other complications, I would doubtless give up the trip. Today I at first told Mr. Johnson I could not accept his invitation, and after much persuasion on his part, said to him that I would think of it. . . .

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Chief Justice Fuller to Grover Cleveland, January 2, 1893[1]

I have given the subject of our recent conversation the most serious consideration. I was bound to do this on account of its importance in every way, and the more in view of my sincere attachment to you personally, and my earnest desire for the success of your Administration for the sake of the party and your own. And the result is that I must ask you to allow me to decline the great place you are kind enough to wish me to accept. I am convinced that the effect of the resignation of the Chief Justice under such circumstances would be distinctly injurious to the Court. The surrender of the highest judicial office in the world for a political position, even though so eminent, would tend to detract from the dignity and weight of the tribunal. We cannot afford this.

Again, a change in the head of the court, situated as it is at this juncture, would inevitably involve delay to some extent in the transaction of its business, and invite criticism, which however transitory, it would be the part of wisdom to avoid.

So far as I myself am concerned, I also think the effect would be unfortunate, though I admit that in the face of imperative duty, purely personal considerations should give way. I am fond of the work of the Chief Justiceship. It is arduous, but nothing is truer than that "the labor we delight in physics pain."

I am deeply sensible of the confidence you repose in me, and it is difficult to decline doing as you would like, but I am clear that I am right on every ground in the conclusion to which I have come.

[1] This letter is a refusal of the Secretaryship of State, which Cleveland—with a strange lack of regard for the traditions of the Supreme Court—had offered in private conversation to Chief Justice Fuller.

Grover Cleveland to Melville W. Fuller, Lakewood, New Jersey, February 1, 1893

Although you had taught me to expect it, I was shocked to learn of the death of our dear friend Lamar. It is a gratification to know that in death his services and greatness are recognized, as his attainments and his lovely traits were appreciated in life by those who knew him well.

I have hardly recovered from the knockdown you gave me in your last letter. I suppose I ought not to have cherished such a dream, but you know I thought I had a little sort of encouragement for it, and my extreme desire to have you by my side in a very trying time, I suppose led me on. I hope you do not think I did an improper thing in attempting to compass what I desired so much.

Can you give me the name of a first-rate lawyer in the South—someone who has appeared in your Court and made a good impression? I do not know but I shall want an Attorney-General from that quarter—preferably from Alabama, Mississippi, or that vicinity. I do not get on very fast with my Cabinet. If such a man occurs to you, and you can put me on the track of him as soon as convenient, I shall be much obliged.

With affectionate remembrances from Mrs. Cleveland to Mrs. Fuller and you in which I join. . . .

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To Melville W. Fuller, Princeton, November 25, 1900

. . . I have had a hard time during the political campaign just closed. The number of letters that have poured in upon me, begging, advising, and demanding my support to the Bryan cause, has astonished me; and many of them have made me feel very uncomfortable. It has been difficult for me to persist in my policy of silence, but I am glad I have been able to hold out. I had a letter from Judge Putnam—strong and characteristic—which put the case as related to such men as you and me, in splendid fashion. Since the election I have occasionally heard very encouraging things from the South; and some of the newspapers published there are denouncing Bryanism, free silver, and Populism, and seem anxious to do some fighting on the old lines.

I have thus far declined to make public my notions on the reconstruction, or as I prefer to call it, the rehabilitation of our party. But I have prepared something on the subject, which I suppose will be published in a non-political newspaper, in three or four weeks. If I had gone to Washington I should have submitted it to you. I shall publish it in a non-political paper on the theory that I am altogether ruled out of the political leader class, and that if I can do any good at all, it is with the lower structure of our party—or the rank and file—thus forcing better leadership by a movement from the bottom. It is outrageous, the way honest Democrats have been misled; and I think when they more fully see it, the leaders will adjust themselves to the necessities which an awakening in the rank and file will make manifest. What ought to be avoided now is a patch-up that will be no better than present conditions. Our party now is not in need of cunning, adroit pretence. What we do need is an honest clean right-about-face and a tramp back to the old paths.

I have written a longer letter than you ought to be taxed to read. I had planned to take Mrs. Cleveland with me if I went to Washington. How delighted we would be if you and Mrs. Fuller could come and see us in this holiday break in your Court.

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Phi Beta Kappa Contributors to This Issue

Arthur B. Darling, Yale 1916.

N. D. Houghton, Illinois 1927.

C. C. Little, Harvard 1910.

Allan Nevins, Illinois 1912.

Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Virginia 1910.

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Discussion

Iconoclasm or Skepticism

WILLARD W. WIRTZ

LIFE is a series of milestones—full of monotony as each marker adds but another unit to the series. We stand today beside one of those markers. We read the legend: "Graduation"—and on the other side: "Commencement." Stopping to think a minute upon the anomaly contained in the antipodal meaning of those two words we are suddenly shocked into the realization that this milestone is alarmingly different. This marker faces abruptly in both directions.

We slipped from babyhood to childhood without realizing the transition; we suspect that the adult moves so easily into old age that the turning point is never marked. Yet the transition which today we consummate is emphasized and celebrated in programs and exercises. From the almost cloistered shelter of a "child-centered school"—where we were the children—we are being thrown suddenly into a troubled water where our very existence is predicated upon the display of initiative.

Today 100,000 college seniors stand fearfully at the portal of the Grand Disillusionment. The world doesn't want us—can't use us. We've always taken for granted our particular place in the sun—and now we find it but a mirage. There are no posts, no positions—not even any jobs. We are the *youth* of the land and suddenly we become rudely conscious of our age as we realize that today our years are something of an accusation. Almost suddenly we realize that the world has certain labels which it likes to pin upon our youth. Youth, it says, is the time of storm and stress, of protest, iconoclasm, of chafing at conventions and against restraint. The world delights in emphasizing in caricature our "radical" tendencies, and its kindest judgment is that eventually "we will outgrow it."

It is unquestionably true that the college man thinks in more radical terms than the adult, that experience acts as a leavening influence on what must necessarily be but embryonic ideas, that youth is over-enthusiastic, speaks in superlatives when comparatives would be better, pays too little attention to the effect of words and actions. But equally true is the charge that age is all too inclined to mistake honest conviction and sincere protest for intellectual Bolshevism. If a student discusses politics he is a Communist; peace, he is a pacifist; religion, an atheist.

Youth may be iconoclastic, but it is neither haphazard nor insincere. There is behind the protest of youth a cardinal principle. *We do not hold that whatever is, is wrong; we are merely loath to acknowledge that whatever is, is right.*

In the field of morals we are not

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quite ready to agree that all lights should be out at nine o'clock, just because, figuratively speaking, curfew has sounded down the ages. In industry we cannot hold it right that a nation should starve while a few grow fat—just because the sanction of years blesses unrestrained private profit in the name of rugged individualism. We refuse to be frightened by a traditionalism that attacks the Russian experiment merely by hissing the word Bolshevism. We deny the creed that finds oceans an insuperable barrier to world brotherhood —merely because George Washington spoke so majestically and so finally against entangling alliances. We revolt against the definition of patriotism which echoes the booming of cannon merely because war has been considered inevitable.

Please don't misunderstand me. I have not said that youth is atheistic, immoral, socialistic, unpatriotic, or bolshevik. I have only said that we resent having creed and dogmas and even constitutions forced upon us in the name of tradition and tradition alone. If curfew is to ring, we ask only to know why. If we are to wave the flag and make the eagle scream and some day march away to trenches and to death, we want only to *know* that it will make the world safe for democracy—and that democracy is safe for the world.

There is today a greater justification for youth's protest than has been the case since the dawn of this nation. Our lives cover two decades which have witnessed tremendous upheavals in the status quo. In 1918 we watched 70,000,000 men leap at each other's throats like so many wild beasts of the jungle; we witnessed the aftermath of that holocaust; soon *we* shall begin to pay for it. We've seen a dozen European nations throw over their traditional governments in great social and political experiments. For four years now we've watched the disintegration of our own economic system. We know that today America is on trial, that 10,000,000 men are without work, that the systems of capitalism and democracy are being challenged, that the war-god is but waiting for a chance to strike—that the future hangs in the balance. Can you blame us for asking questions?

I have said that our generation has been misunderstood—and yet the whole world is today more than ever before in sympathy with what I have called the cardinal principle of youth. Ten million jobless men are full of questions. A new administration is today, in the spirit of youth, daring to question the established order. Even one of our philosophers, John Dewey, speaks with convincing maturity that *youth*, with its boisterous unconventionality, is *living*. Dewey concludes that no creed or dogma can be true unless it ministers; that only that is right which accomplishes good; that no institution has a right to live unless it serves. The philosopher, the president of the United States, the unemployed workmen—today subscribe to this principle of youth.

America is today faced with the necessity of starting over in many ways; and I suggest to you that though we be impetuous, inexperienced, radical if you please, youth and youth alone is sufficiently untrammeled by traditions and established systems to create the new order

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which alone can be America's salvation. And yet, this very claim to positions of leadership in a new order throws us sharply against the horns of a new dilemma. Having achieved the privilege of doing what is right, in its own name, it becomes necessary to know what *is* right. In the very moment that we flout convention as the arbiter of morals we must find a better guide. To deny the compelling force of the status quo necessitates our finding a firmer foundation. And by our own contention we must not destroy what is old—merely because of its age.

Our mere bagatelle of experience has taught us the danger of breaking away from the mooring masts of convention and tradition—especially during the storm for we can sense the danger of unanchored standards. We are not intellectual anarchists—and we know full well the retroactive nature of purely destructive criticism. Most of us are groping today for a definite philosophy. We're extremely poor denominationalists; we aren't even good church-goers—and yet our desire for a religion is no less strong than is that of the older generation. We realize that the weakness of our protest lies in its failure to propose a constructive program—and this realization will, despite our bitter criticism, our overwhelming conceit, make us turn to age for mutual salvation.

This is a call to a new leadership, one that can combine the experience of age with the freshness of youth, link the good of the old to the better new, build without wreckage, reform without revolution. To this new leadership the youth of this generation would commit itself with all the enthusiasm of a zeal as yet but faintly challenged.

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